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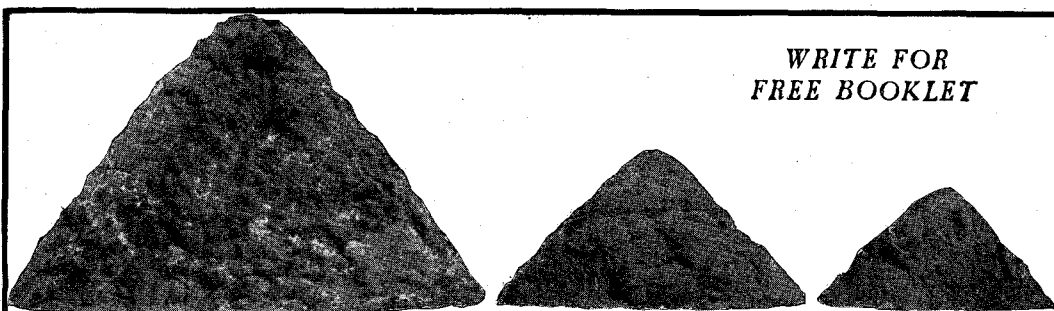
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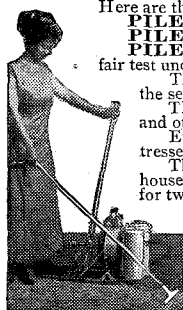
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The Outlook

APRIL 29, 1911

LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor-in-Chief. HAMILTON W. MABIE, Associate Editor

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Contributing Editor



THE PUBLIC CONTROL OF ELECTIONS

By the passage of the Geran Bill, New Jersey, under the vigorous and effective lead of Governor Wilson, has not only extended the application of the direct primary, which was already in practice, under a limited form, in that State, but has put the whole machinery of nominations and elections under strong public control. The view that a political party is a voluntary and private association of citizens, whose organization and methods and purposes are of no concern to any but themselves, is still held, or at least professed, by some Americans; but it is fast giving way to the view that a political party is a part of the machinery of government and should be kept under the control of the whole people. This new election measure in New Jersey is a clear instance of the way in which the broader and more intelligent view is finding expression in statutory law. The Geran Act provides that the members of the Election Boards, who have charge in each district of the registering and polling of voters, must be selected from such party members as have passed a civil service examination; that their selection shall be under the supervision of the judges of the Courts of Common Pleas, and that it shall be by lot; that in case of vacancies in these boards, or removals for non-compliance with the law, the places shall be filled through appointment by the judges; that in Presidential elections there shall be an approach to the direct primary through a provision for the election of delegates committed to specific candidates for the Presidency; that there shall be an approach to the direct election of United States Senators by requiring each candidate for the Legislature to say whether

he will or will not vote for the man who is nominated for the United States Senatorship at his party's primaries; that all State officials, including the Governor, shall be nominated by direct primaries; that the State committees of the parties shall be chosen by the members of the parties at the primaries; that the party convention shall consist of the party's principal candidates, and, in a year when a Governor or when Senators are not to be elected, that the then incumbents shall be members of the convention of their own party; that voters may be enrolled as members of one party or the other (provision apparently being made only for Republican or Democratic enrollment); that no voter can change from one party to another without the intervention of a general election; that the ballot in use in the primaries shall accord with certain specified provisions, and that in elections the ballot shall be a blanket ballot containing the names of the candidates in alphabetical order, each name being printed but once, but being accompanied with party designations. The Geran Act is one of the notable achievements of Governor Wilson, for its passage is due to his leadership. It is a wholesome sign that the people are not content with merely the name of self-government, but are determined to use means to secure to themselves its substance.



THE TARIFF IN CONGRESS

For the second time the Canadian Reciprocity Bill has passed the House of Representatives. The vote last week Friday was 265 to 89. The majority was larger than it was in the last Congress, and was, as before, composed mainly of Democratic votes. The debate on the

Reciprocity Bill in the main followed the arguments already familiar to the country. The most notable speech in opposition to the bill was made by ex-Speaker Cannon, who defended the extreme policy of protection on the old and recognized lines. Mr. Cannon asserted that the Reciprocity agreement was a good thing for Canada, but a bad thing for the United States, and that to pass the bill without amendment would be to allow Canada to legislate for the United States. He also insisted, but without making much impression on the House, that the submission of a bill which had been arranged with Canada by the President was a violation of the Constitutional provision that revenue bills must originate in the House of Representatives. Despite Mr. Cannon's argument, and more elaborate if less enlivening speeches on the same side by Mr. Richardson, of Alabama, Mr. Fordney, of Michigan, and others, the sentiment of the House, as evinced in several running debates as well as in set addresses, showed a strong belief in the justice and desirability of the measure. The closing speeches were by Mr. McCall (Republican), in favor of the bill; Mr. Dalzell (Republican), in opposition, and Mr. Underwood (Democratic), in support of the measure. The Outlook's approval of the measure has been repeatedly stated. One other important tariff measure, it has been decided by the Democratic leaders, requires action before any attempt at tariff revision schedule by schedule. This is the bill putting on the free list various commodities which are in use particularly by farmers—the idea being to offset any supposed loss incurred by farmers through the Canadian Reciprocity measure. This bill was submitted to the House by Mr. Underwood, Chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means, who took the ground that the Canadian Reciprocity Bill only makes a "desirable beginning of the greatly needed work of revising injurious tariff rates;" that its advantages are greater for the people of Canada than for our own people; and that the free list bill introduced by him as a part of the Democratic programme would do only justice "to the great army of agricultural producers who, in the Canadian agreement, are to have all the alleged protection

removed from their products, without a corresponding or reciprocal removal of the protective duties most burdensome on the commodities they must purchase as necessary to sustain their lives and industries." Mr. Underwood took up seriatim such items in the bill as agricultural implements, bagging, hides and leather, meats, and lumber, and urged that in most cases these products were under the control of trusts, and that not only the farmer but the general consumer is entitled to relief from the unnatural and abnormal high cost of living resulting through the power of unfair protective duties. The bill is sure to provoke a keen and spirited discussion in the House before it reaches its final vote.



SOME DIPLOMATS AND A SENATOR

In common with all our diplomatic representatives, Dr. David Jayne Hill, American Ambassador at Berlin, resigned his office at the beginning of the present Presidential term. Mr. Taft accepted the resignation of certain officials, but requested others to continue in office for the present. Among those others was Dr. Hill. President Taft's own term is now more than half spent, and Dr. Hill resigns again, the resignation to take effect in July. In accepting the resignation the President expressed himself as entirely satisfied with the Ambassador's work. These words will be echoed by all who have followed Dr. Hill's distinguished and successful public career as Assistant Secretary of State, as Minister to Switzerland and then to Holland, and as Ambassador to Germany. To sound scholarship, a keen knowledge of men and of life, Dr. Hill unites a quiet, urbane manner which accentuates the note of authority in whatever he says. His friends will hope that his future activities will not interfere with the publication of the great "History of Diplomacy" on which he has long been engaged. Two of the six volumes have already appeared, and represent the union of a broad historical perspective with practical personal experience. Changes are also announced in the Russian and the Turkish Embassy. The latter is to be filled by the transfer of the Hon. William Woodville Rockhill, our accomplished Ambassador at St. Petersburg,

who is to be succeeded by the Hon. Curtis Guild, ex-Governor of Massachusetts. At Constantinople Mr. Rockhill will doubtless find quite as much to do as at St. Petersburg, in which place Governor Guild's well-known energies and tact will have ample play. A political change of equal importance is found in the election by the Iowa Legislature of Judge William S. Kenyon as United States Senator. The new Senator has been Judge of the Eleventh Iowa District, and more recently Assistant to the United States Attorney-General, by whom he is highly regarded. Judge Kenyon comes from Fort Dodge, the lamented Senator Dolliver's home. The two were close friends and mutual admirers. The new Senator, therefore, is a Progressive. His election is a decided victory for the Progressive cause. It gives promise of material aid to the cause of good government.

MAYOR SEYMOUR OF TACOMA

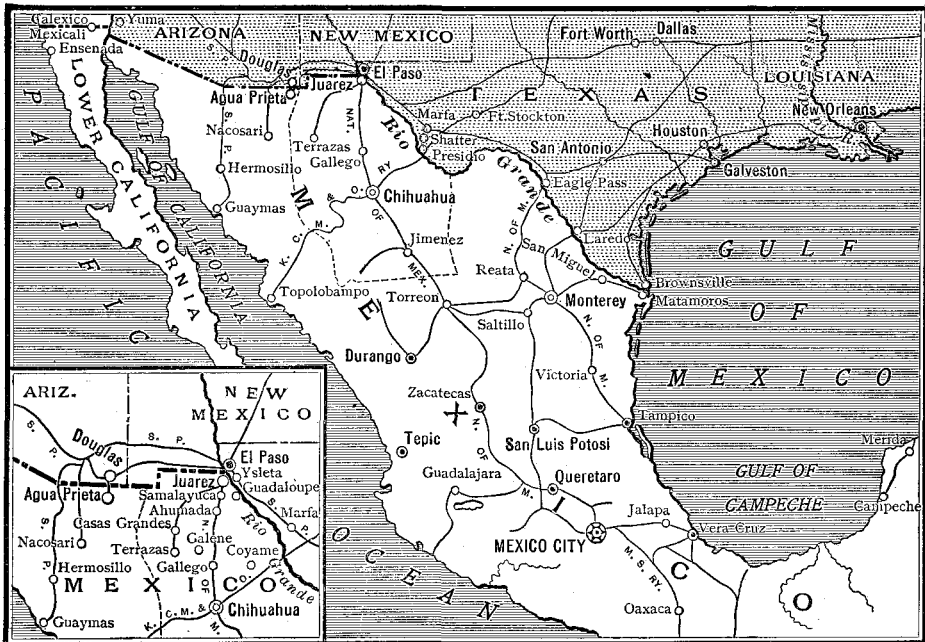
On Thursday of last week Mr. William Wolcott Seymour was elected Mayor of Tacoma, Washington. Following the Seattle mayoralty recall, there was a mayoralty recall at Tacoma. The late incumbent of that office had shown himself to be a petty politician. He had kept the City Hall in a continual uproar over non-essential matters, much to the detriment, in particular, of the great engineering contracts recently let by the municipality, especially that of a municipal hydro-electric power plant, costing \$1,700,000, and an extension of the water supply to bring pure water from Green River at a cost of \$1,500,000. At the election on April 4 for the nomination of candidates, Mr. Seymour received 1,300 more votes than the Mayor did, but not enough to make a majority over all the candidates, the Socialist candidate in especial polling a large vote. The other candidates were then all eliminated except Mayor Fawcett and Mr. Seymour. At the final election last week the latter won by about a thousand votes. Mr. Seymour, a graduate of Williams College, is one of the best-known business men of Tacoma, and as his enterprises have brought him into contact with men all over the country, he enjoys a wide popularity. He is emphatically a Progressive in tempera-

ment and in principle. He has already shown his spirit as President of the Park Board of Tacoma, where he has instituted some excellent reforms and brought about a different civic atmosphere. Mr. Seymour's election, like that of Judge Kenyon in Iowa, is not only another sign of the Progressive movement throughout the country, but, involving as it did two elections, also indicates that, as a feature of governmental machinery, the recall is not necessarily—as it has sometimes been charged with being—a mere instrument of "popular passion."



THE WAR IN MEXICO

War it is, although the insurgents have not been recognized as belligerents by any power, for when a town like Juarez is formally besieged and the insurgent leader notifies the President of Mexico that attack will be made if the President does not resign within twenty-fours, the struggle can hardly any longer be called one against brigands or guerrillas. We reported last week the capture of Agua Prieta by the insurrectos, the fight on the American border, and the infliction of death on one or two and wounds on several American citizens in the town of Douglas, Arizona, together with President Taft's warning to the Mexican Government that it must prevent the recurrence of such outrages. Mexico's reply has not been made public as we write; it is understood to deplore the incident, to assure the United States that measures will be taken to prevent its recurrence, but to call in doubt some of the statements of fact reported to the President from Douglas. Semi-official newspaper despatches from Washington state that Mr. Taft is confident that intervention or the use of force will not be necessary to secure hereafter the safety of Americans on their own territory, and that the Administration relies on the good faith of the Mexicans; while the insurgents also, it is said, have sent assurance that they will not permit any firing across our line. Senator Stone declared in the Senate that Congress "should at once and without delay authorize the President to employ whatever force may be necessary to prevent a repetition of the bloody outrage committed at Douglas." But his view did not



THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO AND THE SEAT OF WAR

meet with assent. Senator Root and Senator Lodge, for instance, declared, the first that a threat of force would be "to reverse the policy of the United States and take a step backward in the path of civilization," the second that the President would not ask for authority to use force until diplomatic methods had failed, and that no such state of affairs existed, indeed that we have nothing but the kindest relations with Mexico. Elsewhere will be found an editorial discussion of the principles involved in the peculiar international situation now existing as between the United States, the Mexican Government, and the revolutionists.

HOPES OF PEACE AND THREATS OF WAR

Juarez, which last week became the center of military interest when Agua Prieta had been recaptured from the insurgents by the Federals after severe fighting, is just opposite the Texan town of El Paso on the Rio Grande, is a railway and customs station of importance, and has perhaps fifteen thousand inhabitants. It is well fortified by the Federals and presumably able to make a strong resistance to Madero's forces, which advanced toward it in considerable

strength last week. Madero's reply to those who urged an armistice was, in effect: Diaz must give up the Presidency at once, agree to the no re-election principle, allow a member of his Cabinet to become Provisional President until a new election can be held, and meanwhile give Juarez over to the insurgents. Peace negotiations appear to be going on in a roundabout fashion. Madero declares that he does not want the Presidency himself. An American correspondent of *The Outlook* in Mexico, in a letter just received, gives the following outline of the reforms really desired by intelligent revolutionists in Mexico. They are as follows:

1. The reform of the electoral laws, so that there will be effective popular suffrage.
2. Reform of tax laws, so that assessments cannot be arbitrarily made by Government officials.
3. Effective police protection.
4. The enactment of laws to better the condition of the laboring man, to form habits of morality, and to stimulate habits of economy through savings institutions.
5. Administrative work and zeal in the carrying out of the laws regarding primary education.
6. The adoption of rules calculated to facilitate the quick administration of justice, to make judicial practice uniform, and to fix responsibility on judges and court employees, as also lawyers and litigants.

**PLACING
THE RESPONSIBILITY**

Coroner's juries are not popularly supposed to act, as a rule, with the highest wisdom and forcefulness, but a most notable exception has been presented in the case of the coroner's jury dealing with the recent Washington Place fire in New York City. This jury was made up of men well qualified to consider the questions at issue, for it included engineers, architects, builders, and business men. The findings not only criticised the conditions existing in the factory in which the fatalities occurred, but made sensible and clearly expressed recommendations to the authorities for dealing with the danger of fire throughout the city. Harris and Blanck, who comprise the firm whose employees were burned, and who had been already indicted by the Grand Jury, were declared responsible for the death of the two women whose cases were presented to the coroner's jury, because of culpable and criminal negligence in leaving a door locked which should have permitted these women to escape. Furthermore, the jury declared that no attention had been given or means provided for quick exit of the employees, but that, on the contrary, their safety had been utterly disregarded. The crowding of tables and lack of passageways are instanced, as well as the locking of doors. The jury declared that the conditions obtaining in this factory were such that, if they were not forbidden by law, such a law should instantly be framed. The jury recommends that fire-escapes should be regularly inspected by the Fire Department and reported to the Bureau of Buildings, and that then the latter should order changes made and have power to enforce such orders. It is further recommended that every application for a new building should show for what purpose it is to be used, and that, if its use should be changed, written consent from the Superintendent of Buildings should be required, and he should make certain that after the change the building conforms to the law for that class of buildings to which it would now really belong. Concentration of responsibility is strongly urged, and there are specific recommendations for improvement of the laws or practice as regards inspection of factory buildings, the construc-

tion of stairways, the use of automatic sprinklers, and the posting of rules in the buildings. The public continues to take the strongest possible interest in the investigation as to the cause of this fire, and will agree with the coroner in his thanks to the jury for doing a work of great benefit to the public, and also in his hope that the jury's recommendation will result in immediate and practical reform.



**A SOUTHERN JOURNALIST
AND NOVELIST**

A Virginia background and the Middle West "bringing up" of a generation ago make vivacious, picturesque, and interesting characters; and among the writing Americans of the time few were more individual and picturesque than Edward Eggleston and his brother, George Cary Eggleston, who died recently at his home in New York. Mr. George Eggleston was a veteran journalist. Beginning as a reporter, he later became managing editor and then editor-in-chief of "Hearth and Home," and subsequently, in one editorial capacity or another, was connected with the New York "Evening Post," the "Commercial Advertiser," and the New York "World." He was much more widely known, however, as a writer of books, some of them autobiographic, like "A Rebel's Recollections" and a volume of Memoirs, many of them either stories of semi-historic or romantic interest. The Civil War, in which he served on the Confederate side, and of which he had first-hand knowledge, afforded him rich material for fiction, and he used it in a series of stories notable for simplicity, invention, and freshness of feeling. Mr. Eggleston had the Southern instinct for assuming a personal relation with his work, and of dealing with his literary material as if he had shared in the adventures which he described. His personality was very interesting and his figure was striking. He was at his best surrounded by a little group of friends, discussing questions of literary interest or telling stories about his adventures as a Confederate soldier. His affiliations were with the South, as the affiliations of his brother Edward were with the Old West, though both of them often went back in interest and knowledge to the Colonial days. Edward Eggleston's

"Roxy" and "The Hoosier Schoolmaster" were first-hand stories of the Central West of forty years ago, and will remain original documents in American history. He was also the author of a projected history dealing with Colonial habits and manners, of which he lived to print only two delightful volumes. The titles of some of Mr. George Cary Eggleston's books—"Strange Stories from History," "Southern Soldier Stories," "The Last of the Flatboats," "The First of the Hoosiers," "Two Gentlemen of Virginia"—indicate the historical interest of the books of the younger brother, whose death leaves many friends bereft.



IS THE AMERICAN TYPE CHANGING?

That human nature does not change is an ancient and mistaken maxim, as The Outlook pointed out several weeks ago. The ideals, aims, and active qualities of men and women do radically change from age to age, and, while the possibilities of human nature remain substantially the same, the developments of those possibilities which constitute character are constantly taking on new forms. This is true of the body as well as of the spirit and of the mind. There seems to be no doubt that the American has changed greatly in this country. The typical American is a more substantial person than he was thirty years ago, and probably enjoys better health. He takes a great deal more rest and exercise; he is much given to the open air; he plays many games with enthusiasm, and his interest in sports is probably twentyfold what it was a generation ago. A Harvard professor has recently made the prediction that other changes are taking place in him which involve the disappearance of the "light-complected" American, to use a good old country phrase. The people of this country, according to this observer, will gradually grow darker, though wide evidence of this development will not be visible for several generations. One reason for this change is found in the large migration from southern Europe and the large Jewish immigration as well. The southern Europeans and the Jews settle largely in cities, while the northern, or blond races, go into the country; with

the result that the Northwest, which has especially attracted the Scandinavians, shows a large percentage of blonds, while many of the cities show an increasing number of men and women of darker coloring. In cities relationships are more intimate than in the country and racial prejudices disappear much more rapidly, with the result of an increased number of international marriages among the younger generation. This means in the cities a large intermixture of darker blood and a tendency away from the blond to the brunette type.



UNITING FOR COMMON GOOD

It is a noteworthy fact that a declaration of religious principles and aims has been recently adopted unanimously by a conference in New York composed of Trinitarian and Unitarian ministers and Jewish rabbis, after holding a discussion continued over two adjournments, and after having obtained strong commendation from men of note, such as university and seminary professors, church pastors, and rabbis. As might be expected, this declaration is ethical rather than theological, and an enunciation of general principles rather than of exact definitions, and it will be criticised by some theologians for what it omits rather than for what it contains. Nevertheless, acknowledging these facts, which do not seem to us to constitute real criticisms, it remains as significant that representatives of theological schools so widely variant have been able to agree upon any statement—significant because it indicates that there are certain fundamental and essential principles upon which orthodox and liberal Christians and progressive Jews are able to unite in a campaign for the common welfare. This statement reaffirms "the essential faith both of Judaism and Christianity in the kingdom of God on earth as the supreme ideal of human hope and endeavor"—an ideal "attainable only through culture in personal and social life of the religious morality which the Hebrew and the Christian Scriptures identically enjoin as the loyal imitation by the children of God of his character and ways as their Father and Lord." "Defining religion ethically as consisting essentially in attachment to God with the will, the Conference regards

the practical identification of religion and morality as the goal of endeavor at which religion and ethics are jointly and inseparably pledged to aim." For this the Conference lays "stress upon the deepening of a consciousness of God as the Eternal Spirit in whom all live and move;" who is "the Life and the Law of all," and upon "the teaching of Holy Scripture that the necessary inspirations of progressive morality are to be found in a growing consciousness of the Living God as the Soul of the soul." It will be seen that this statement, while ethical in its aims and conclusions, is spiritual in its tracing back all true morality to its true root in obedience to and companionship with the Eternal Spirit. The statement is certainly far from the whole of Christianity, but it is admirable as indicating how much of Christianity is held in common by all schools in the Christian Church, and by the most liberal and progressive element in the Jewish Church as well. Copies of it may be had by addressing Dr. W. M. Hess, Trinity Congregational Church, Tremont, New York. The New York State Conference of Religion gives a concrete and practical example of religious union for moral ends by its Committee on Moral Legislation that is heard from every winter at the Capitol, most recently in promoting the law that has closed up vicious dance halls. A similar case of religious union for moral progress is seen in the admirable working together at Cleveland of Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Jews, and of private and civic institutions, in the successful investigation of public dance halls in that city, which has resulted in the passing of an ordinance, said to be superior to that of New York and Chicago, admirably adapted to strike at one of the worst evils in urban life.

AMERICAN ART IN ROME

The Outlook has already referred to the remarkable architectural features of the exhibition which has just been opened to commemorate the semi-centenary of Italian independence, upon which The Outlook commented editorially last week. That independence was proclaimed at Turin, the ancient capital of the house of Savoy, fifty years ago, and it is appro-

priate that there should be held in that city the part of the Italian Exposition which illustrates industry and commerce. Though Rome did not become a part of United Italy until nineteen years later, it is now Italy's capital; and as such it is appropriate that the part of the Exposition relating to art and history should be held there. The Italian troops entered Rome in 1870; but for twenty-five hundred years other troops of men have been entering the Eternal City to find inspiration for the creations of art which they were to accomplish. American sculptors and painters have drunk deep from that fountain-head, as witness the sculptures of Crawford and Story and many another American who has long lived in Rome, and the canvases of Vedder and Coleman, and now of Carroll Beckwith. It seems appropriate, therefore, that Americans who have drawn so much from Rome should send of their best to an art exhibition there, and it is reassuring to know that the works of art to represent America are to be passed upon by artists of the standing of John W. Alexander, William M. Chase, and J. Alden Weir. The response from American artists has been generous; and there is every prospect that our showing at Rome will be as representative of American art in 1911 as was our showing at the Paris Exposition of 1900.

EDWARD AUGUSTUS MOSELEY

By the death of Edward Augustus Moseley the cause of progressive labor legislation suffers a distinct loss. In 1887, the year of the establishment of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, Mr. Moseley came to Washington to accept the secretaryship of that Commission, a position he filled with great efficiency until his death. It may be said, without reflecting upon any of his official superiors, that the work of the Commission practically revolved about him. His office became the Commission's clearing-house and information exchange. Mr. Moseley's qualifications for his work were evident. In the first place, he was a man of character. In the second place, he was a good lawyer. In the third place, he was a man of great energy; indeed, it is thought that his unceasing activity may have shortened

his life; he was only sixty-five years old. Finally, he was a man of great geniality; perhaps a more popular man than he did not exist in Washington; no death which has occurred in the capital in recent years has caused wider personal grief. Secretary Moseley was regarded as the leading authority in the United States upon all measures designed either to arbitrate between capital and labor or to promote the safety of passengers and trainmen upon our railways. He, if any one, was the "father" of the employers' liability, hours of labor, safety appliance, and other labor laws. He was not only the promoter but also the actual initiator of certain acts passed by Congress. Through his efforts the arbitration, better known as the Erdman, law was enacted, and also the right-of-appeal law—and it may be said in this connection that he had great influence with the various organizations of railway employees. But he will, we think, be longest remembered by his special activity, extending over a generation, in obtaining the legal establishment of uniform standards for equipping railway cars with safety appliances. Certainly his name must stand with those of the humanitarians of our time who have employed their powers for the protection of human life.

NOTABLE GIVERS

A few gentlemen gathered last week at a remarkable dinner at the Hinsdale Sanatorium, Illinois, when Dr. Daniel K. Pearsons, whom Mr. Carnegie has called "the prince of givers," celebrated his ninety-first birthday and retired from his active career. His gifts to colleges, hospitals, churches, and missionary boards have exceeded in amount seven million dollars; and, after having properly provided for all who have legitimate claims upon him, he has so arranged matters that he will die poor. Thirty or forty colleges and other institutions in different States which have been recipients of his bounty were represented at the dinner. At its close Dr. Pearsons distributed checks among several colleges amounting to \$200,000, and then drew his last check for \$100,000 to the order of the American Board of Foreign Missions, and made his valedictory in a few words, which de-

serve permanent record as the expression of a great donor inspired and guided in his career by a woman who has kept steadily out of the way of publicity:

As I look back over the last twenty-two years, I realize that none of my gifts would have been possible without my wife. It was she who taught me how to make the money and imbued me with the spirit of philanthropy. To her I owe everything, and my advice would be to every young man who wants to start on the road to fortune and wealth, to marry.

Among the benefactors of American colleges probably no man has stimulated more effort or done more to awaken individual interest through his gifts of money than Dr. Pearsons. His example has been followed by larger givers, but by no one who has sought with greater diligence to make his gifts tell, not only in the enlargement of resources, but in the activity and interest of graduates. Such a career needs no comment, but it does need publicity; and Dr. and Mrs. Pearsons must be inscribed among those whose great good fortune it has been to make their happiness contribute to the welfare of the world.

THE CONSUMERS' LEAGUE: A NEW METHOD

Most of our readers know about the systematic effort and excellent influence of the Consumers' League in procuring better conditions for the employees of stores. Before long The Outlook will print a somewhat extended and carefully prepared article by a writer who is intimately acquainted with this work. Meanwhile, we note a change of method which is of decided interest. For a score of years the association has published what has been called a White List, which gives the names of the stores which are known to treat their employees fairly and in accordance with the regulations of the Consumers' League. Now, in place of this, there will be published from time to time statements which will describe the actual conditions as they exist in individual stores—wages, vacations, hours, conformity to all physical welfare, etc. In making this change the Governing Board pointed out that it has become increasingly difficult "to distinguish a basis for commendation between houses which, while maintaining

certain very desirable conditions, nevertheless fall below our general standard in some respects, and houses which, while conforming outwardly to the requirements of our standard, still, in ways difficult of investigation and of proof, allow conditions of which the League cannot approve." It therefore seems advisable in the future to state the facts and leave to the judgment and the conscience of the individual consumer the decision as to what houses seem worthy of patronage. The Outlook joins in the hope that this method will increase the benefits which have already been exercised by the League in bringing out proper conditions of labor for working-girls. It may be noted that the League's label is now used by sixty-five manufacturers, and that leagues of the same kind have been formed in France, Germany, and Switzerland.

THE CHINESE INDEMNITY STUDENTS

The approaching examination for the selection of Chinese students to be sent to the United States will occur in July. The subjects are: Chinese composition and English composition, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, history, elementary chemistry and physics, German or French. The subjects for this year's examination differ from last year's in the elimination of English literature; in that subject over seventy per cent of the candidates failed. At last year's examination candidates were accepted entirely on the merits of their work, quite irrespective of the provinces from which they came. On this account, Kiangsu Province, as the center of foreign education at present, contributed the largest quota. This year the system is to be changed and the number of students to be selected from each province will, as far as practicable, be determined by the respective amounts of the Boxer indemnity allotted to and paid by each province. After this year's examinations, students to be annually despatched to the United States will be exclusively selected from those in the Tsing Hwa-yuan Academy, where the Government has instituted a special course of study for students to be sent abroad, and also where the students from various Government educational institutions in the provinces are to be sent up under instructions from the Provincial

Educational Commissioners. The Academy, which is to receive new students continually on competitive examination, will be divided into two departments, the primary and the intermediate. The buildings are now in course of erection and will stand in the midst of large playgrounds in rural surroundings in the vicinity of Peking. A large property has been given for the purpose by the Imperial household, and the Government has allocated an annual amount of \$150,000 for the school's maintenance. The Peking-Kalgan Railway passes near. It is encouraging to all friends of American educational progress to know that among the teachers chosen by the Chinese Government for the instruction of the five hundred accepted students ten of the men and eight of the women are to be Americans.

THE LOETSCHBERG TUNNEL

The Loetschberg railway tunnel through the Alps has just been driven through. It is the fifth long bore to be completed in those mountains: the Simplon is $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles long; the St. Gothard, $9\frac{1}{4}$; the Mont Cenis, $7\frac{1}{2}$, and the Arlberg, $6\frac{1}{2}$. The Loetschberg and the St. Gothard are of equal length. The new tunnel will be specially advantageous to passenger and freight traffic between England and Italy, for it will save about eighty miles of transit. It is really a connecting branch of the Simplon, eliminating the long detour now necessary to reach that tunnel. Thus, in order to go by the shortest route, travelers from England to Italy will now have two long tunnels before them instead of one—the Simplon and the Loetschberg. The new direct route from London will now be by Calais to Laon and thence to Belfort, entering Switzerland at Delle, from which the traveler goes to Berne, and then by the Lake of Thun to Spiez, up to Frutigen, and so through the tunnel, reaching the Rhone Valley at Brigue and connecting with the Simplon. Though the Loetschberg is only a detail in the route, it is a very important detail, not only in making a shorter line from London to Italy, but also in contributing still more to the revenue of the French railways, compared with the German, as carriers between the north and south of Europe.

PROTECTING THE AMERICAN BORDER

Under the United States Constitution Congress has power to declare war. The President has no such power. But as Chief Executive of the Nation it is his duty to protect persons and property, not only from mob violence within the territory of the Nation, but also from peril and assault from without. In truth, the latter duty is even clearer than the former, since it is the primary duty of the State authorities to preserve order within the State, and the duty of the President to do so only when the State fails in its duty. Any one who believes that Abraham Lincoln did right in calling for troops to protect the National property from insurrection within the State, and that Grover Cleveland did right in sending troops to Chicago to protect the mail trains from interference by the strikers, will not doubt that it was right for President Taft to assemble troops on the Mexican border that he might be prepared, on the one hand, to prevent bodies of Americans from crossing over into Mexico with intent to take part in an insurrection against a government with which we are at peace, and, on the other hand, to protect the border from peril threatened alike by the Mexican insurrectionists and the Mexican regular troops. Nor can it be doubted that, now that the troops are there, the President has a right to make whatever use of them may be necessary to protect either Mexico from American filibusters or America from Mexican troops. To warn the Mexicans that they must not invade the American border and to use whatever force may be necessary to prevent them from invading America is not to declare war. And America is as truly invaded by bullets flying across the border in pursuit of Mexicans as it would be by a force of cavalry riding across the border for the same purpose. Rifle bullets have already killed one or two and seriously wounded something like half a score of Americans peacefully pursuing their lawful vocations on American soil. Suppose instead of rifle bullets they had been bombs, and instead of wounding half a score of individuals they had destroyed half the American town. Can any Amer-

ican imagine that it would have been the duty of the President to do nothing for the protection of the border until Congress had debated what to do?

That it is the right and the duty of the President to do whatever may be necessary to be done to protect American citizens from violence and the American border from the incursion of Mexican bullets—that he has, for example, a right to march troops across the border in force sufficient to maintain a neutral zone where fighting between the Mexican forces will not be permitted—we think is not to be questioned. Such an act is no more a declaration of war than was the act of George Washington in sending troops into Pennsylvania to put down the Whisky Rebellion a declaration of war against Pennsylvania, or than was the act of Grover Cleveland in sending soldiers to protect the mails in Chicago a declaration of war against Illinois. It is not even an unfriendly act, and implies no hostility to a friendly State. Our readers will remember how our troops marched with other forces to rescue Americans in Peking from the Chinese insurrectionists, and how John Hay and President McKinley insisted that this was no act of war against China.

The President's *right* to act is not to be questioned. But what it is *expedient* for him to do it is not easy to determine. If by sending troops across the border to establish a neutral zone he should arouse wrath against Americans residing in Mexico and imperil their lives, the act would be of very questionable wisdom. To hazard the lives of hundreds of peaceful Americans in Mexico in order to protect the lives of a score or so of Americans beyond the Mexican border would be a course of action which only the gravest necessity could justify. The course of the President has been characterized by equal strength and caution. He has acted with great promptitude in assembling a force ready for action if action is called for; he has acted with commendable caution in holding that force in reserve, not to be used except as a last resort, in case peaceful diplomatic measures fail. It is greatly to be hoped that they will not fail, and the President believes that they will not.

CAN A FREE PEOPLE BE FREE?

We purpose in this article to give to our readers an interpretation of the recent decision of the New York Court of Appeals declaring that the Workman's Compensation Act is unconstitutional. We regard this decision as of very great importance, because, if the Court has correctly interpreted the Constitution of the United States, that document prevents America from adopting an industrial reform which has been adopted as just and necessary by practically the entire civilized world. We do not believe that the interpretation of the Court is correct. It is, in our opinion, in conflict alike with the progress of civilization, the spirit of democracy, the principles of social justice, and the analogies and tendencies of law. And we believe that this unconscious attempt to fasten upon the workingman an unjust and intolerable burden from which all other civilized nations, with one exception, have relieved him, will ultimately prove as futile as was the conscious and deliberate attempt of the United States Supreme Court, under the lead of Chief Justice Taney, to halt the movement for the emancipation of the slaves.

In the earlier stages of industrial development, when industry was unorganized, machinery hardly existed, and labor was an individual handicraft, the courts naturally assumed that accidents occurring to a workman were probably due to his own negligence. If he were mowing in a field and cut himself with his scythe, if he were digging a ditch and sprained his ankle, if he were cutting down a tree and it fell upon him and broke his leg, he could recover from his employer only on proof that his employer was at fault. Nor could he recover if the accident were due to the carelessness of a fellow-workman. There was always a natural presumption that he could better guard against such carelessness than could the probably absent employer. If he were turning a grindstone and his awkward fellow-workman so held the scythe as to cut him, if he were in the forest and his fellow-workman gave no notice of the

falling tree, it was natural to presume that the carelessness was shared between the two, and the law would neither attribute blame to the employer nor levy the damage upon him when he was not blameworthy.

But the organization of labor and the creation of elaborate machinery has destroyed this presumption of the common sense, and therefore in all civilized countries has destroyed this presumption of law. When a railway train runs off the track because of a misplaced switch or a defective rail, there is no presumption that the engineer was careless or could have guarded against the carelessness of the switch-tender or of the manufacturer of the rail. When a fire breaks out in a room where scores of shirt-waist-makers are confined at their work and a hundred and forty of them are burned to death, there is no presumption that the impossibility of their escape through narrow passageways and a locked door was due to their carelessness, or that they were to blame because the tables at which they were working were wood, not metal, or that they could have prevented the careless fellow-workman from throwing his cigarette down in the inflammable material which surrounded them. In fact, only a very limited number of modern accidents are due to the carelessness of the injured party; probably a somewhat larger number are due to the carelessness of some other employee; while a very considerable proportion are incidents of the trade and due to no definite culpability which it is possible to trace home either to the employer or the employed.

The Christian nations of the world have, with singular unanimity, recognized this change, and have changed their laws to meet the new conditions. The change which they have made was indicated to them by their maritime laws, which in this respect have been alike in all civilized nations and from a very early period. An accident occurring to a sailor on shipboard has always been regarded as an accident to the ship; and the ship has always been required to bear the burden of his care and keep and cure. This right to be cared for does not rest on any assumption that the master of the ship has been negligent, nor is the seaman deprived of his

right to care and keep and cure by proof that the accident was due in part, or even altogether, to his negligence. He is not debarred from recovery by proof of his carelessness; he is not given larger damages upon proof of the negligence of the master. His right to be cared for rests, says Mr. Justice Story, upon the fact that "seamen are in some sort co-adventurers upon the voyage." Modern jurisprudence throughout Christendom recognizes that under modern industrial conditions the workman in the railway, the mine, and the factory is a co-adventurer in the enterprise, and that the hazards incident to his employment should be borne, not by the individual, but by the industry. This principle is now recognized and incorporated in their legal systems by every country in Europe (including Russia but not Turkey) with the single exception of Switzerland.¹

The justice and importance of this reform have been recognized by such statesmen as the President of the United States and his predecessor in office, by such lawyers as Elihu Root, by workmen who desire some better insurance against accident than is furnished them by a right to sue their employers, by employers who desire to be protected from vexatious lawsuits and the peril of verdicts for great sums, and by about half a dozen States, including Kansas, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and New York, all of which have passed Workmen's Compensation Acts. Such an Act, shifting the responsibility for the risks which are incident to the trade in organized industry from the individual to the organization, the New York Court of Appeals declares no State in the Union has authority to enact, because the Constitution of the United States forbids its enactment. The Court recognizes the need for a change in the law. "We desire," says the Court, "to present no purely technical or hypercritical obstacles to any plan for the beneficent reformation of a branch of our jurisprudence in which, it may be conceded, reform is a consummation devoutly to be wished." It presents forcibly, appreciatively, and apparently with entire approbation, the arguments which

have brought about this reform in other lands: "There can be no doubt as to the theory of this law. It is based upon the proposition that the inherent risks of an employment should, in justice, be placed upon the shoulders of the employer, who can protect himself against loss by insurance, and by such an addition to the price of his wares as to cast the burden ultimately upon the consumer; that indemnity to an injured employee should be as much a charge upon the business as the cost of replacing or repairing disabled or defective machinery, appliances, or tools; that under our present system the loss falls immediately upon the employee, who is almost invariably unable to bear it, and ultimately upon the community, which is taxed for the support of the indigent; and that our present system is uncertain, unscientific, and wasteful, and fosters a spirit of antagonism between employer and employee which it is for the interest of the State to remedy."

To these considerations the Court suggests no reply, and upon them it offers no criticism. On the contrary, it in terms concedes "the strength of this appeal to recognized and widely prevalent sentiment." It declares that "no word of praise could overstate the industry and intelligence of the Commission" which prepared the New York law, and it apparently agrees with the conclusion of the Commission, based on "a most voluminous array of statistical tables, extracts from the works of philosophical writers, and the industrial laws of many countries"—the conclusion that "our own system of dealing with industrial accidents is economically, morally, and legally unsound." But all these considerations of public policy, social justice, and worldwide conviction are set aside "as subordinate to the primary question whether they can be molded into statutes without infringing upon the letter or spirit of our own written Constitution." The countries which have adopted this desirable reform, it is said, "are so-called constitutional monarchies in which, as in England, there is no written constitution, and the Parliament or law-making body is supreme. In our country the Federal and State Constitutions are the charters which demark the extent and the limitation of legislative power."

¹ Probably the reason why it has not yet been adopted by Switzerland is because her organized manufacturing industries are so few that no pressure has been brought upon the State to change the law.

In brief: The change in the law is just; it is demanded by the change which has taken place in our industrial system; it is all but universally desired; the experience and the conscience of the civilized world call for it; but America is powerless to make it under her present Constitution. Other countries can make it because they are monarchies; America cannot make it because she is free.

The clause in the Constitution which, in the opinion of the Court of Appeals, prohibits the Legislature from making this wise and just reform in our law is the clause which provides that "no person shall be . . . deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law"—a prohibition which occurs twice in our Federal Constitution (Amendments V and XIV), and is to be found in many, very probably in most, State Constitutions. We believe that the Court of Appeals, in its contention that this clause in our Constitution prohibits this just and necessary reform in our industrial laws, is sustained neither by the spirit nor by the letter of this clause in the Constitution, neither by the history of its origin and significance nor by the course of judicial interpretation which has been given to it by the United States Supreme Court.

Let the reader stop a moment here and reflect upon the principle involved in the law enacted in other civilized countries and proposed in ours. It is not that an employer should be mulcted in damages when he has been guilty of no fault. It is not that he should be compelled to pay for his carelessness without an opportunity to prove to the court that he has not been careless. It is that accidents occurring in the course of organized industry should be held to have occurred, not to the individual, but to the industry.

"In everything within the sphere of human activity," says the Court of Appeals, "the risks which are inherent and unavoidable must fall upon those who are exposed to them." The jurists of all the civilized countries of Europe agree that in modern organized industries it is the industry, not the individual, that is exposed to the accidents. The law applies to the factory hand for the future the principle heretofore applied to the seaman in maritime law. The factory hand is henceforth

to be regarded as a "co-adventurer" with the employer in the industry.

Nor is "due process of law" denied by the Workman's Compensation Act. No damages can be recovered from the employer against his consent without a suit at law. The statute in terms provides that "any question which shall arise under this Act shall be determined either by agreement or by arbitration as provided in the Code of Civil Procedure, or by an action at law as herein provided." And what is provided is that, if the employer fail to make compensation as provided by the Act, the injured party or his guardian or executor may sue for the amount. The law does not deny the employer his day in court. But it redefines the question for the court to decide. It has not to decide whether the employer is guilty of fault. His liability does not depend on his fault. The court has simply to decide whether the accident occurred in the due course of the business, and, if the employer chooses to raise the question, whether it was "caused in whole or in part by the serious and willful misconduct of the workman." If not, the workman is entitled to recover, and the amount which he is entitled to recover is fixed by the statute. The question, then, is this:

Does a law which, for accidents in certain carefully defined and especially dangerous employments, transfers the liability from the individual to the organization, and which carefully preserves the right of the employer to submit any questions which arise under the law to the courts for adjudication, deprive the employer of his property without due process of law? The Court of Appeals of New York State affirms that it does. The Outlook affirms that it does not.

To state this question appears to us to answer it. Certainly there is nothing in the Workman's Compensation Act which violates the *letter* of the Constitution. It does not in terms take the property of the employer without due process of law. How any one can find in the Act a violation of the *spirit* of the Constitution we find it difficult to conceive. And that difficulty is enhanced, not relieved, by a careful study of the opinions of the Court. For in those opinions it is assumed that on its face the law is unconstitutional, and

the Court devotes all its intellectual energies to an attempt to show that the authorities cited in opposition are exceptional. That the law and the Constitution are not inconsistent is, however, established both by a consideration of the object and intent of the Constitutional provision and by judicial decisions interpreting it. To these two considerations we now direct the attention of the reader.

The provision in the Federal Constitution that "no person shall be . . . deprived of life, liberty, or property, except by due process of law" (Fifth Amendment), and the provision, "nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law," (Fourteenth Amendment) are derived from the Great Charter wrested from King John by the Barons in 1215. "No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or disseized, or outlawed, or banished, or any ways destroyed, nor will we pass upon him, nor will we send upon him, unless by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land." This is perhaps the most important of those general clauses in the Great Charter which, says Hallam in his "History of the Middle Ages," "protect the personal liberty and property of all freemen by giving security from arbitrary imprisonment and arbitrary spoliation." Hume gives some intimation of the abuses that led to this provision: merchants had been subjected to arbitrary tolls and impositions; the property of the dying had been seized and their lawful heirs dispossessed; officers of the Crown had levied on horses and carts in time of peace for their own or the public service. Green, in his "History of the English People," gives the picture of John's despotism and of the growing spirit of liberty in the English common people with greater detail. The King's exactions drove the Barons into alliance with the people. "Illegal exactions, the seizure of their castles, the preference shown to foreigners, were small provocations compared with his attacks on the honor of their wives and daughters." The demand of the common people to substitute due process of law for wager by battle, and to be secure in their lives, their liberties, and

their property from acts of lawless and irresponsible power, the Barons made their own, and by the same act claimed for others what they claimed for themselves. "The under tenants were protected against all exactions of their lords in precisely the same terms as they were protected against the lawless exactions of the Crown."

From such a provision for the protection of the fundamental rights of person and property it is a far cry to the conclusion that the people cannot remedy the injustice which inflicts all the consequences of accidents which occur in extra-hazardous trades upon the individual who, in practicing that trade, happens to be subjected to the peril. Common sense, as well as frequent decisions of the courts, sustain Daniel Webster's definition of the scope of the Constitutional provision embodying in our law this provision of the Great Charter: "The meaning is that every citizen shall hold his life, liberty, and property and immunities under the protection of general rules which govern society." That society can never make new rules for the better protection of life, liberty, and property and immunities, is a doctrine as repugnant to reason as it is to social progress. It is equally repugnant to the principle of interpretation laid down by the Supreme Court of the United States: "The law is perfectly well settled that the first ten amendments to the Constitution, commonly known as the Bill of Rights, were not intended to lay down any novel principles of government, but simply to embody certain guarantees and immunities which we had inherited from our English ancestors."¹ And it seems never even to have occurred to English lawmakers that the Workman's Compensation Act is inconsistent with this provision of their Great Charter—a charter which is as much a part of the British Constitution as the Fifth and Tenth Amendments are of ours. In the English Constitution, as in the American, the principle is carefully defined in writing. The only difference is that in England the Parliament is the final judge of its meaning; in the United States that final judge is the Supreme Court of the United States.

At least it ought to be. But the New York Court of Appeals does not allow that

¹Robertson vs. Baldwin, United States, 281.

it is the final authority. In this particular case it is not, for no appeal lies by the plaintiff in this case from the State to the National Court. But an appeal does lie by the public. The Outlook takes such an appeal. And it declares without hesitation that the decision of the New York Court of Appeals is in conflict, not only with the trend of judicial decisions in that Court, but also with its very explicit statement of the fundamental principles to be applied in interpreting the Constitution.

We have already noted the fact that maritime law regards a seaman as a co-adventurer with the ship-owner, and therefore makes the ship liable for his care, keep, and cure in case any accident occurs to him, even though it be produced by his own fault. We now add that the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that such a law does not take the ship-owner's property without due process of law. That, says the Court of Appeals, is different, for "the contract and services of seamen are exceptional in character. . . . When he is sick or injured he is entitled to be cared for at the expense of the ship, and for the failure of the master to perform his duty in this regard the ship or the owner is liable." No doubt there is a difference between a seaman on a ship and a factory hand in a factory. Very probably that difference ought to weigh with the representatives of the people in determining what difference there should be in their respective treatment. But if making a ship liable for accidents happening to a seaman does not take the ship-owner's property without due process of law, then rendering a factory liable for accidents happening to a factory hand does not take the factory-owner's property without due process of law. The Constitution of the United States is precisely the same on sea as on land; but to the Constitution of the United States the Court of Appeals gives one meaning on ship-board and another meaning in the town.

The right of the Legislature to impose new responsibilities upon property is not confined by the United States Supreme Court to the sea. It is equally sustained upon the land. The State of Oklahoma provided for an assessment on all banks in the State in order to create a fund for the purpose of guaranteeing the de-

positors in all banks in the State. The Noble State Bank brought suit against the State to prevent it from collecting this assessment, on the ground that it was taking property without due process of law. The Supreme Court, without a dissenting opinion, held that the act was Constitutional, on two grounds: first, because "it is established by a series of cases that an ulterior public advantage may justify a comparatively insignificant taking of private property for what in its immediate purpose is a private use;" and, second, because "it may be said in a general way that the police power extends to all the great public needs. It may be put forth in aid of what is sanctioned by usage or held by the prevailing morality or strong and preponderant opinion to be greatly and immediately necessary to the public welfare." A similar case coming before the Court from the State of Kansas was decided with the same unanimity by the Court at the same time.¹

This definition of Constitutional law by the unanimous opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States, if accepted, clearly determines the constitutionality of the Workman's Compensation Act. That this Act "is sanctioned by usage and held by the prevailing morality and strong and preponderant opinion to be greatly and immediately necessary to the public welfare" is proved by the fact that it is demanded alike by employer and employee, that it has been approved by the general public, that it is apparently regarded by the Court of Appeals itself as a reform much to be desired, and that it has been adopted by every civilized country in Europe except Switzerland. The New York Court of Appeals can find only one escape from this declaration of principle by the highest tribunal in the land, in these two cases, namely, a repudiation of the authority of that tribunal in these cases: "We cannot recognize them as controlling our construction of our Constitution."

In this review of the decision of the New York Court of Appeals we have passed by without comment some extraordinary statements which should not be

¹ Noble State Bank vs. Haskell; Shallenberger vs. Bank of Holstein, January 3, 1911. Lawyers' Co-operative Publishing Company, Rochester, New York.

passed by in any complete review—the statement that “practically all of these [European] countries are so-called constitutional monarchies in which, as in England, there is no written Constitution,” whereas, in fact, practically all of the European nations have written Constitutions; and the statement that the Workman’s Compensation Act “does nothing to conserve the health, safety, or morals of the employee,” whereas, in fact, it is aimed and purposed to accomplish all three results, and was urged in the English House of Lords by Lord Salisbury specifically on the ground that “to my mind the great attraction of this bill is that I believe it will turn out a great machinery for the saving of human life.”

But we have deliberately neglected all minor details in an endeavor to put before our lay readers a true interpretation, and what we hope they will generally believe to be a just criticism, of this decision of the highest court of the Empire State. In that decision, in our opinion, the Court has disregarded all considerations of social justice and public policy, has set itself against the conscience and judgment of the civilized world, and in its forced interpretation of the Constitution has disregarded alike the history of the Constitution’s origin and of its judicial interpretation by the highest court in the land.



THE USES OF A CATHEDRAL

The consecration last week of the choir and two chapels of the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine, on Morningside Heights, in New York City, will be a memorable day in the history of the metropolis. After nearly twenty years and an expenditure of nearly three million dollars, the great edifice still lacks the transepts and the nave, but its majesty is already evident. The square, or space under the dome, has been temporarily inclosed, and seats about two thousand people. On the day of consecration this space was packed with deeply interested worshipers and listeners; while in the choir were nearly five hundred clergy, with many representatives of other communions, and laymen holding special official relations to the event. The services were marked by dignity and by the beauty of sim-

plicity. The organ sent great waves of sound through the edifice, and its first strain revealed its cathedral scope and quality. When finished, the cathedral will rank fourth in size among the ministers of the world, while its interior, with the prevailing tone of light limestone, the exquisite purity of its altar, and the great columns which separate it from the ambulatory, will give the church a wonderful lightness, so that its vast size will bring no sense of weight.

The criticism of the cathedral lately made by a minister in New York City, who protested against the spending of millions of dollars on a colossal structure while the needs of the poor are so imperative, showed that curious lack of vision which has prevailed since the time when a devout woman broke a box of ointment over the feet of the Christ and a disciple cried out that its price ought to have gone to the poor. It would be as wise to protest against the money spent on the deepening of the springs instead of on the aqueducts which convey the water at the surface; for while to-day consecration to the service of God has largely taken the form of practical, first-hand ministry to men and women, it is also true that the fundamental faith which is the source of philanthropy was never in greater need of majestic expression. That will be the first and obvious service of the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine when it stands complete on the highest eminence of the city amid commercial buildings of towering height, costing many millions of dollars; itself the evidence, by the majesty of its structure and its vast expense, that the men and women of the metropolis place the worship of God higher than the worship of Mammon, and are ready to give more to maintain that worship without material return than they are to put money into the great structures which may be high-class investments.

Men are always saying, when a great age has passed, that its inspiration will never return; and yet it has often happened that while they wrote the elegy of an art, that which gave that age its special genius and quality was beginning to manifest itself—not in the old forms, but with more than the old life. This age, which men call commercial and materialistic, has

seen the completion of Cologne Cathedral, the building of the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Westminster, London, and it has now witnessed the rise in one of the greatest commercial cities of the world of a church which will rival in magnitude the greatest of the thirteenth and fourteenth century structures. Those noble churches were the flowering of religious faith and architectural genius, of a devout imagination, and a widely diffused, although instinctive, sense of beauty. Great architects—"masters of live stone," as the Florentines call their sculptors—could not have brought them into being if architecture had not been a living speech, intelligible not only to trained men but to all men, and if the building of cathedrals had not been a popular movement. The stone for St. Mary Radcliffe, at Bristol, which Queen Elizabeth called the "fairest church in England," was brought five miles from hand to hand, a long line of men co-operating with the architect. The Cathedral of St. John rises in a different age, in which there are a hundred new forms of religious beneficence; but it could not rise if the old faith were not still sovereign in the minds of a host of people, and it will not go to its completion unless a long line of benefactors stand behind the architect as the line of workers stood behind the builders of St. Mary Radcliffe.

A cathedral not only registered the rise of a great wave of enthusiasm and faith, but commemorated a great moment in civic life; for the cathedral and the modern idea of a city as a self-governing political entity—not an aggregation of houses but a group of families organized into a higher unity, a great household—were born at the same period; and the great spires rising above ancient towns symbolized the religious spirit of the corporate life. The cathedrals were the shrine and center of that life, and knit all its activities together in a higher community. Every art contributed to the minister; the architect, the sculptor, the painter, the wood-carver, the weaver of tapestry, the maker of glass, the musician, brought the offering of their skill and the resources of their arts to the worship of God. There, too, modern drama had its rise in the mysteries, the miracle plays, the living pictures at great festivals, the pictorial scrolls let down from

the pulpits by priests. Connected with it were the hospital, the library, the school. It was the center of social life. This external unity has gone. Society is divided into a hundred arts and occupations, often apparently antagonistic to religion. Some day they must come together again; and the cathedral is a symbol of that reunion. In an age when art is in imminent danger of being commercialized and men are in great peril of being engrossed in practical affairs, the Christian faith is not only a sublime ruler of conduct, but it keeps the human soul alive and is the guardian of its highest interests. The poetry of life and the ideals of life are in its keeping. It is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen. It is the sublimest of symbols, built in the form of a cross, as every great building must rise on sacrifice. It stands for that strength which is embodied law and obedience; it illustrates the only lasting beauty—that of structure, of proportion, order, subordination of the parts to the whole, of detail wrought by a dozen associated arts into a perfect whole; so that it becomes at last, with its activities, a complete expression of all the interests of humanity, a visible aspiration and prayer, its ascending lines carrying the imagination on to an invisible perfection; for it is the evidence of things not seen.

The cathedral, with its chapels of seven tongues, as interpreted by Bishop Potter and by Bishop Greer, will be the church of a great community. It was significant that on the first Sunday night after the opening of the building a great meeting in the interests of peace was held under the dome, addressed by laymen and by ministers of other communions. The Cathedral of St. John the Divine, if it is to express the highest ideals of a great Church, must not fear to rival the breadth of activity and of interest of the mediæval cathedrals. It must unite the political and religious life by identifying itself in all proper ways with the movements which make for civic righteousness, for social betterment, for the service of the people who need guardianship and protection. Nothing can justify so vast an expenditure of money except a service to the community as great. Not by the building of beautiful altars, nor by the

lighting of candles, nor by dignity of service, nor by great organ harmonies, can the worship of God best be rendered to-day. These things minister in manifold and inspiring ways to the life of the spirit; but the religious life can be adequately and fully expressed only by a practical helpfulness which shall reach all parts of the city, as light and force streaming from a great central motor. This keynote was struck in Bishop Greer's sermon, emphasizing the threefold unity of religion, patriotism, and philanthropy: the love of God, the love of country, the love of man. If this great church shall become a center of teeming activities, and shall translate the word service in terms of fruitful and beneficent usefulness in the homes of New York; if it shall be a great house of God, directed not to serve a single communion, but to interpret in wise and true ways the unity of all who serve, it will be a spiritual treasure-house to the whole city.



A SOCIALIST SUICIDE

Daniel Kissam Young left last week a letter for his associates containing the following paragraph:

You will notice in almost every daily paper the most fulsome praise of "The Business Interests" of the country. Take it from one who knows, and who has been in the game, that of all the contemptible people in the world the "Business Men" of this country are the meanest and most contemptible. There is nothing to which they will not stoop.

Cheating, lying, misrepresentation, adulteration, murder of the workers by neglecting proper safeguards, are merely every-day occurrences. And it is no wonder when you remember that what we call business is merely taking advantage of your neighbors' necessities, and that the best business man is one that takes the most advantage of his neighbors' necessities.

A good deal of allowance must be made for the mood of a discouraged man to whom life has been a failure and who abandons the battle in despair. But Mr. Young's expression reflects an opinion not infrequently put forth by members of his school. It is one which ought not to pass with the silence that gives consent.

Such a statement belongs in the same

category with the declaration of William Lloyd Garrison in the fifties, that every slaveholder was a man-stealer. Every slaveholder was not a man-stealer. Very few slaveholders were man-stealers. Many slaveholders were doing the best they could for their slaves, and a great many were doing the best they knew how. They were as much entangled in the slave system as the slaves themselves. So to-day: there are some business men who are single-hearted in their devotion to money and who do not care how they get it, but they are a comparatively small minority. The great majority of business men are honest, industrious, and hard workers, who regard business as a mutual exchange of products or services for the benefit of both parties, and who always desire to give a fair equivalent for everything they get. Great numbers of them are thoroughly interested in doing the best they can for their employees. This interest of employers in their employees is attested by such facts as voluntary raising of wages, giving directly or indirectly participation in profits, arrangements whereby employees may become stockholders in the business, organized welfare work, and provision made in many cases to enable employees to become owners of their houses on very advantageous terms.

The characterization of all men by the Church as totally depraved did nothing for the reform of humanity and something to discourage reform. The characterization of one class as totally depraved by another class is rather worse, for the universal condemnation of humanity has at least this merit, it involves self-condemnation, while the condemnation of one class by another class produces Pharisaical self-deceit. There are good employers and bad employers; good labor leaders and bad labor leaders; good lawyers and bad lawyers; good ministers and bad ministers; good play-actors and bad play-actors. Wholesale condemnation of one class by the representatives of another class is not true in fact, does nothing to promote and much to hinder social reform, and does something to excite that antagonism of classes which it ought to be the object of all patriotic citizens to abolish.

THREE CENTURIES OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE: 1611-1911

BY GEORGE H. GILBERT

IT is the purpose of this article to compare the use of the English Bible in 1611 and in 1911, more particularly in regard to the extent of its use and the correctness of its interpretation. The original sources of information are so numerous and the subject so great that the comparison must be suggested rather than exhaustively set forth.

And first a word of general orientation. Our forefathers of 1611 may have numbered about three millions, or less than one-fortieth as many as now speak their tongue. Education had made rapid progress through the reign of Elizabeth. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were flourishing, and were said to have as many buildings and students as all other European universities together. Assuming that their registers contained about six thousand names in 1611, we should have as large a percentage of the population seeking the best education of the time as we have to-day in America. The general state of the country was one of prosperity. The average man had far more worldly goods than his grandfather, or even his father, had possessed. Lordly houses had been erected in considerable numbers, and even common dwellings were provided with chimneys. In the homes of the middle and upper classes wooden dishes had been replaced with pewter and silver. Among the evidences of increased wealth was the elaborate dress to be seen in court circles and in great houses. It was not uncommon in those golden days for a man to "wear a manor on his back."

London, with its quarter of a million inhabitants, was well supplied with theaters, and the number of poets and dramatists was large. Literary activity was intense—nowhere more so than in the field of religious controversy—and the annual output of books was remarkable both in quantity and quality. There was therefore in 1611 a large reading class.

To form an idea of the use of the Bible in 1611 we shall turn chiefly to books and letters belonging to a few years

before and a few years after that date, from about 1600 to 1625.

It were a great mistake to suppose that the Puritans were the only or the chief readers of the Bible in those days. There were many in the national Church who read it as eagerly as they. King James could introduce Scripture words and examples into his letters and speeches as readily as any bishop or Puritan divine. In his speech of March 9, 1604—the year in which it was decided to have a new version of the Bible—are numerous allusions to Scripture. For example, speaking of the union of England and Scotland which his coming to the English throne had brought about, he says: "What God hath conjoined, let no man separate. I am the husband and all the whole isle is my lawful wife: I am the head and it is my body: I am the shepherd and it is my flock." Izaak Walton tells us that Sir Henry Wotton, Ambassador of James I to Italy, and later Provost of Eton College, was in the habit while in the latter position of spending *some hours* each morning in reading the Bible and in the study of divinity. Sir Walter Raleigh, who was a prisoner in the tower when the Authorized Version was prepared and published, began his "History of the World" with a passage on God which abounds in Scripture allusion, and when speaking of the death of Prince Henry he expressed his heart in the language of Job. Thomas Nash, a Cambridge literary man, in a treatise on the lack of hospitals in England and on the uncharitableness of the rich, as also in "The Unfortunate Traveller," drew illustrations and arguments from the Bible. Two years after the publication of the King James Bible Thomas Dekker, who wrote both dramas and devotional treatises, sent out a little book on prayer called "The Four Birds from Noah's Ark."

But there are other writings in which the appearance of Scripture is more noteworthy. Thus Mr. Esquire, in "Secrets of Angling," published about 1611, in his

paragraph on "Baits," refers to "Balaam's horse," and to

"That great whale that by three whole days' space

The man of God did in his belly hide."

Captain John Smith, in his description of New England, published in 1616, makes an appeal to his readers for greater interest in the settlement of America in which the Bible plays a great part. He cites Adam and Eve, who first began the "innocent work" of planting the earth; Noah and his family, who began the second plantation; and Christ and his Apostles, who exposed themselves to greater perils than people were called upon to face who crossed the ocean to New England or Virginia.

It is a long way from Captain John Smith to our next writer, Francis Bacon, whom Walton happily called "the great secretary of nature and all learning." The reader of his "Essays" will remember that he drew his illustrations alternately from the classics and from the Bible. Thus in the essay on "Adversity" he not only refers to David's harp, to the afflictions of Job and the felicities of Solomon, but he sums up the teaching of the Old Testament and the New as only one could do who had read the Bible deeply. His great work on the "Advancement of Learning," though it be, as he says, "a small globe of the intellectual world," and not a treatise on religion or Christianity, quotes aptly from nearly one-half of the sixty-six Biblical writings. It is obvious that what he said to the honor of Queen Elizabeth, that she was "very conversant in the Scriptures," was true also of him.

Of Macaulay's "two incomparable men," it remains to note to what extent the second read the Bible. We are thrown entirely upon the study of his works for an answer to this question. These I have not myself searched with reference to the point in hand, but rely on the labors of Burgess. According to this student of Shakespeare, there are in his plays some two hundred passages which either quote or adapt Biblical language. It may be noted of Shakespeare's use of the Bible as compared with Bacon's that, whereas Bacon cites the Scripture words, Shakespeare usually transforms them, yet without perversion. We recognize the Biblical

thought, but it has passed through the alembic of a poet's mind. Thus we recognize the thought of Matthew x. 29, in the words of Adam:

"He that doth the ravens feed,
Yea, providently caters for the sparrow,
Be comfort to my age!"

Again, out of Psalm cxxx. 3, and Matthew vi. 12, are Portia's words to the Jew:

"Consider this,
That, in the course of justice, none of us
Should see salvation: we do pray for mercy;
And that same prayer doth teach us all to
render
The deeds of mercy."

We do not know whether Shakespeare was a Catholic or an Anglican, but it would be easy to believe that in his boyhood the Bible was to him, as later to Lincoln, what Homer was to Alexander, the book that he oftenest read, and read with delight.

Thus far we have followed the reading of the Bible between 1600 and 1625 among those who were not Puritans. To these we now turn for a little. It is well known that the Puritans were from the beginning zealous in searching the Scriptures. As it was the Bible through which they had been conscientiously arrayed against the Established Church, so opposition to that Church and from it threw them back more and more upon the word of Scripture for their justification and support. It seems probable that every Puritan household had a copy of the Bible at the time of which we speak. The Geneva version had been imported for fifty years in scores of editions and tens of thousands of copies. It was doubtless true of the Puritan in a larger degree than of the Anglican that he lived and moved in the Scriptures. In the diary of John Winthrop for February 8, 1606, we read that when on a certain occasion he had deferred "reading and prayer" until three in the afternoon his heart was thereby "very much unsettled;" and for May 23, 1613, we have this entry: "I will so dispose of my family affairs as [that] my morning prayers and evening exercises be not omitted." Winthrop was eighteen at the time of the former of these entries. William Bradford, Governor of the Plymouth Colony in 1621, learned Hebrew because "he would see with his own eyes the ancient oracles of God in

their native beauty." Now Winthrop and Bradford probably represent in a fair manner the educated Puritan laity at the commencement of the seventeenth century. It need hardly be said that the Puritan minister of that day was "very conversant in the Scriptures." John Cotton preached a farewell sermon at Southampton, England, about 1622, on the occasion of the sailing of a company of people to New England. This sermon fills only ten pages of ordinary size, but it draws its nourishment from about sixty-two passages of Scripture. Yet it is not a mosaic of quotations, but a coherent, well-argued discourse.

If now we turn from the Bible reading of 1611 in the English tongue to that of 1911, what do we find? To judge from the allusions to Scripture in current literature, one would quickly conclude that our forefathers of three centuries ago read the Bible more than we do. The literature of 1611 in all departments has a far deeper Biblical hue than has the literature of today. But this test, though it has value, cannot be regarded as furnishing a complete answer to the question before us. For the conception of the Bible is narrower now than it was in 1611. A man may know the book thoroughly and read it daily, but if it is regarded as solely for the *religious* life, that man is not likely to quote it often in writings on popular education or chemistry, on exploration or astronomy. The Biblical color in the literature of England in 1611 is indeed evidence that the Bible was then read, but the relative lack of that color in our current literature does not prove a proportionate lack of acquaintance with the Bible.

But there is another fact of the present day which is decisive in its bearing on the extent of our Bible reading in comparison with that of our forefathers of 1611. Every family in the English-speaking world that has a Bible in the house has also a newspaper; millions have one or more weekly or monthly magazines; and every family that has a Bible has, at a low estimate, ten other books, predominantly stories, for every one that was to be found in the homes of our fatherland three hundred years ago. These papers, magazines, and books are read, and therefore, even if we have more leisure for reading

than our forebears in 1611, it is a physical impossibility that we should read the Bible as much as they did. They were as eager to read as we are, and they had, to say the least, as deep an interest in the Bible.

But there is another side of the subject to be considered. Granted that the Bible was read more in 1611 than it is in 1911, was it read as correctly? Which is much the same as asking whether its purpose was as fully accomplished then as it is now. To answer this question we turn again to the sources.

King James, whom Bacon in 1605 called "the most learned monarch ever known in Christendom," who assumed to speak with authority on all points of Biblical interpretation, argued from the case of the Sadducees, who denied the existence of angels or spirits, that any one who denied the existence of *witches* stood condemned by Scripture. Even a more luminous instance of his ability to understand the Bible is afforded by the fact that he had Bartholomew Legate burned at the stake in Smithfield, March 18, 1612, because he said he had not prayed to Christ for above seven years. Bacon, in a letter of March, 1602—not long, that is, before the death of Elizabeth—expressed apprehension lest that "threatened judgment of God" was about to be fulfilled—"I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered." Surely, one who could see in Zechariah xiii. 7 a threatened judgment on the English people in the year 1602 might well say: "I do much condemn that interpretation of Scripture which is only after the manner as men use to interpret a profane book." It is fortunate indeed for "profane" books that they have not fared so ill at the hands of interpreters as has the Bible.

But let us listen to other writers. Broughton, who died in 1612, exhorted his friends, when near his end, to study their Bible, but when one considers *how* he studied it—how he found the very hour of the crucifixion foretold in Daniel ix. 24, and how he discovered that every Scripture "consenteth" with every other, one is prepared not to expect too much from his friends' fulfillment of his parting word. William Loe, master of the Gloucester school in 1612, made a paraphrase of the Song of Songs "to be used by every

devout soul in his private conferences with his God"! How different is our reading of this old Hebrew love-song!

Again, take the case of James Melville, who died in 1614. He tells how some Spanish soldiers were wrecked on the coast of Scotland, after the destruction of the Armada, and how he and other leading men of the neighboring town took counsel whether they should succor the starving men or leave them to their fate. The question was finally decided from the Old Testament story of Elisha, which was regarded as a warrant for giving the poor Spaniards bread and water. In his "Anatomy of Melancholy," published in 1621, Burton sandwiches the Scripture text between Galen and Hippocrates, and introduces an Ezekiel and Moses among the Arab physicians of the Middle Ages. He proves from Scripture that a sick man must use prayer and physic together, not relying exclusively on either one, and from Scripture also that the sick should not seek for cure at the hands of any exorcist or witch, though freely admitting that the "Devil is an expert physician."

The foregoing instances of interpretation are representative of the better class of writers. We will not stay to add to them, but will proceed to conclusions. Our forefathers of 1611, whether Anglican or Puritan, with rare and partial exceptions, held a view of the Bible that was marked by two characteristics, each of very great importance. In the first place, they regarded the Bible as a book for all occasions and all the manifold questions of life. Because it was good for much it was thought good for everything. It was appealed to with as much assurance in matters political and ecclesiastical as in the matter of the soul's relation to God. It was an infallible authority on the origin of things and on chronology, on the government of kingdoms and the constitution of the Church, on demonology and education and taxes. Nor was this wholly without an appearance of plausibility. Did not the Old Testament touch more or less on all these interests? Doubtless, but for other lands and times remote. Yet our forefathers took these writings as specifically applicable to them. To be sure, there was an obvious lack of consistency in this procedure, for while they accepted

some statutes and precepts they rejected others. They appealed to the Old Testament in support of the gentle practice of burning witches, but bravely neglected its injunction to abstain from pork. But the main point now is not that they were inconsistent in the extension of the old Hebrew legislation to themselves, choosing this and discarding that, but simply that they read the Old Testament at all as a book of statutes and ordinances for them.

In the second place, our forefathers of 1611 had little or no sense of historical perspective in their interpretation of Scripture. The Old Testament was as good as the New; indeed, it was often regarded as of greater practical worth. The Lord Bishop of Winchester, in his Christmas sermon before King James in 1616, represented not a few Christian people when he said that the greatest stay of faith was that they found the things of Christ foretold so many years before they came to pass. This view was as old as the second century, but it was not therefore true. The great fact of *the development of teaching* in the Bible was completely ignored, as a rule. That maxim of the early Fathers, particularly and comprehensively false as it was, that the New Testament is concealed in the Old, was unquestioned in 1611. Through this reduction of Scripture to a dead level a sane interpretation of any part of it was impossible. The end was confounded with the beginning, Christ with Moses. The dark ages of Hebrew barbarism and the civilized age of Paul were not discriminated. Men saw no diviner authority in the Sermon on the Mount than in the legislation of the Pentateuch. Therefore there was no consciousness of perpetrating an outrage against Scripture when it was invoked to justify the burning of men and women as witches and heretics.

But whence, then, came the strength and beauty of Christian character which adorned so many of our fathers and mothers in 1611? It was achieved, we reply, in spite of erroneous views of the Bible. There is, fortunately for us all, a large element of moral and religious teaching in Scripture which the wayfaring man can hardly fail to grasp, if he is really in earnest.

Turn once more to 1911 and to current interpretation of Scripture. We grant at once that the interpretation of the Bible in England and America is still, as a whole, far behind the interpretation of the civil and criminal law, and that the grotesque impossibilities of interpretation in 1611 can be matched from current works—as, for example, when the Scriptures are declared to prove that the souls of the faithful are to inhabit the stars, or when one mode of baptism or one form of church government is demonstrated as divine, or when high doctrines of metaphysics involving an analysis of the very nature of God are laid on men's consciences as the obvious teaching of the Bible—but, granting all this, it can still be confidently affirmed that the average Christian of 1911, though he does not read the Bible as much as did his forefathers in 1611, interprets it more correctly. There is now, as there was *not* then, a science of interpretation. There is a widespread sense of the impropriety of using the words of Moses or Paul as though they were equal to Christ's word. And even more widespread is the belief that the Bible is for inspiration rather than for specific direction, and that its sphere is the ethical and religious. We do not *appeal* to the Scriptures as much

as our forefathers did, but we *listen* to them more. And we listen to the Gospel more than to the law or the prophets. Hence our type of Christianity in 1911 is more humane and gentle, more sympathetic with all truth, more joyous, and more deeply stamped with Christ's law of service than was that of 1611.

But we have not yet reached the goal. With as lively a hope as John Robinson had in 1620, we may look forward to a coming of more light from the Scriptures. To those, who shall speak our tongue three centuries hence how crude and ill balanced, how halting and obscure, is our interpretation of the Bible likely to appear! And perhaps in those far-off days the clearest interpreters of Scripture will not be our descendants, hampered still by the traditions of long centuries of error, but rather the Master's disciples in India and China and Japan. As our reading of the Bible is more intelligent and helpful than was that of the Greek and Latin Fathers of the early Church, so may the reading of it that shall be known in those lands three hundred years hence surpass our own. If that shall be the case, may our descendants have the sense to go to school to the great Japanese, Chinese, and Indian prophets of those days as now their ancestors are coming to us!

CHANGE

BY GEORGE W. GRAY

The wind blows west to-night,
I smell the salt of the sea,
I hear the patient surges smite
In endless ecstasy
The sands and silent rocks.
I know the joy of the laughing tide;
I know the devil-laugh that mocks
When joy has died.

The wind blows east to-night,
And all the lights of the land
Flame red and yellow, blue and white,
Like prairie fires fanned
By the wind athirst for the sea.
How soon its thirst is gone!
And westward again to the far-off fires
It speeds enchanted, on and on,
And never tires.

STUDENT DISORDERS IN RUSSIA

BY GEORGE KENNAN

MANY attempts have been made by the Russian Government in recent years to thwart public initiative and prevent the expression of public feeling by arbitrary exercise of the police power ; but none of them has been more indefensible, and none perhaps has had more evil consequences, than the attempt to put gags into the mouths of the millions of Russians who wished to express publicly their grief at the death of Count Tolstoy. The body of the great Russian author had hardly left the railway station at Astapova when the administration began to take measures for the prevention of what it called "demonstrations" on the part of those who sorrowed over the Count's death and wished to do honor to his memory. Thousands of citizens of St. Petersburg and Moscow desired to attend the funeral at Yasnaya Polyana ; but, although the regular railway trains thither from both capitals were so crowded that passengers stood all night in the aisles of the day coaches, the Minister of Ways and Communications refused to put on extra trains or to increase adequately the number of cars. This lack of railway transportation compelled the delegations from the Duma and the Moscow University to go to Yasnaya Polyana in automobiles. Of course they arrived too late for the funeral, and had to content themselves with a visit to the grave by torchlight in the evening.

In many of the larger cities of the Empire, including St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Kharkof, Warsaw, and Tomsk, the people tried to have memorial services of song and prayer in the churches ; but they were informed by the priests that prayers for Tolstoy, or even prayers "for the repose of the soul of a man named Leo," had been strictly forbidden by the ecclesiastical authorities. They then organized funeral processions and attempted to march through the streets singing the requiem of "Everlasting Remembrance ;" but they were soon attacked and dispersed by Cossacks or the police.

Public meetings in honor of Tolstoy were generally prohibited, and the Ped-

agogical Society of St. Petersburg was even forbidden to assemble for the purpose of listening to addresses on "Tolstoy's Views with Regard to the Education of Children" and "Tolstoy as an Apostle of Self-Sacrifice and Love." In Odessa the Prefect, General Tolmachef, would not allow the theaters to close for one evening as an expression of respect for the memory of the dead ; and in Riga theatrical managers were officially informed that if they presented scenes from Tolstoy's plays or allowed actors to recite extracts from his works they must intersperse such scenes and recitations with vaudeville performances. The exhibition of moving pictures of Tolstoy's funeral was almost everywhere prohibited, and in a number of places theatrical orchestras were forbidden to play either Beethoven's "Kreutzer Sonata" or Chopin's funeral march. In Kharkof the editor of the daily newspaper "Utra" was administratively sentenced to three months' imprisonment for requesting the actors in the city theaters not to play on the night after Tolstoy's death ; and in a dozen different places individual citizens were held to account for rising in theaters and suggesting to audiences that they show their respect for Tolstoy by quietly dispersing. In Yalta booksellers were ordered to take portraits of Tolstoy out of their windows ; in Tula stationers were forbidden to sell picture post cards representing the Count on horseback ; and in Nizhni Novgorod the chief of police would not allow the recall of invitations to a dancing party that was to take place on the day of Tolstoy's death. Liberal editors, of course, suffered from administrative lawlessness almost everywhere. Scores of them were fined or imprisoned for praising Tolstoy or referring to his attitude toward Church and State, while thousands of copies of the "Tolstoy numbers" of leading periodicals were seized by the police and destroyed.

For most of these senseless punishments and prohibitions the Central Government in St. Petersburg was not directly responsible ; but governors and chiefs of

police in the provinces knew that the Czar and his Ministers favored the repression of all actions or utterances that might "excite the public mind" or serve as an excuse for political demonstrations, and they therefore availed themselves of the wide discretionary power given them by the provisions of martial law to prohibit such meetings, processions, speeches, religious services, and moving picture shows as seemed to them politically objectionable or dangerous. Premier Stolypin himself might not have regarded a lecture on Tolstoy's philosophy of self-sacrifice and love or the playing of Chopin's funeral march by a theatrical orchestra as an incitement to tumult and disorder; but his subordinates in the provinces knew that the applause which would inevitably follow the delivery of such addresses or the playing of such music might easily develop into a popular "demonstration," and "demonstrations," of course, were unseemly and improper, if not absolutely treasonable. They determined, therefore, to prevent anything that might even suggest an expression of popular feeling in a public place.

This bureaucratic campaign of prohibition and repression, which seemed to throw a shadow of dishonor across Tolstoy's grave, excited everywhere—and particularly in the cities—a feeling of deep indignation and resentment. Tolstoy had been not only one of the greatest men of his time, but one of the greatest literary artists of all time, and the attempt of the Government to prevent the people from doing honor to his memory was universally regarded as an intolerable invasion of popular and personal rights. This feeling was particularly strong in the universities and higher technological schools. Russian students have always taken the lead in giving expression to popular discontent, and the baffled attempt of the nation to honor the memory of Tolstoy made a stronger appeal to them than to any other class of citizens. Then, too, the Government's measures of repression were directed first against them. On the very next day after Tolstoy's death the University of Kiev was surrounded by troops and mounted police, and every attempt of the students to get together in groups and sing the "Everlasting Remembrance"

was forcibly prevented. Processions of students chanting the words of a well-known funeral march or singing requiems for the dead were attacked and dispersed by Cossacks in half a dozen provincial towns, and even in the capitals students who attempted to go into the streets in groups were stopped by detachments of police posted just outside the university grounds. In St. Petersburg pupils of the Ecclesiastical Academy were threatened with immediate expulsion if they ventured to send so much as a brief telegram of sympathy to the Countess Tolstoy on the day after her husband's death.

Such administrative "regulation" as this would not be tolerated by students in any country in the world, and least of all in Russia, where grievances are so many and means of redress so few. The first university to take decisive action was that of St. Petersburg. On the 23d of November, 1910, the next day after the funeral in Vasnaya Polyana, four thousand St. Petersburg students held a meeting in the great university hall to consider the best means of showing their respect for the memory of Tolstoy and their disapproval of the methods adopted by the Government to prevent the expression of public feeling. In view of the facts that more than three thousand persons, mostly revolutionists, had been hanged in Russia in the five years that immediately followed the promulgation of the "Freedom Manifesto," and that the last article written by Tolstoy for publication, nine days before his death, had been a protest against these executions, the meeting almost unanimously resolved to make an anti-capital-punishment demonstration by marching in procession, with suitably inscribed flags, through the principal streets of the city. The Liberals in the Duma, and particularly the Constitutional Democrats, who foresaw the inevitable result of the conflict that such a demonstration would precipitate, endeavored to dissuade the students from this course of action, and published an open letter begging them not to imperil the future of higher education in Russia by beginning a struggle that might have disastrous consequences. The students, however, were too much excited to listen to the counsels of prudence, and at eleven o'clock on the following morning

several thousand of them formed in column on the Basil Island side of the Neva, and attempted to cross the river by the Nikolai Bridge.¹ The Government, however, in anticipation of this movement, had placed a strong force of guards on the bridge and all along the Basil Island shore, and as soon as the students formed in a body outside the university grounds they were surrounded by mounted police and gendarmes and gradually pressed back into the "lines," or streets which cross the island at right angles to the river. Baffled in their attempt to reach Admiralty Square and the Nevski Prospect by this route, and prevented by the police from marching in procession along the shore, the students gradually broke up into small groups, and eventually dispersed; but they were not yet at the end of their resources. Hundreds of them crossed other and more remote bridges, either separately or in small detachments, and shortly after noon they made their appearance in the Nevski Prospect, where they were joined by sympathetic students from the Polytechnic Institute, the Mining Institute, and the Institute of Civil Engineers, as well as by hundreds of young women from the Women's Higher Educational Courses. Finding it impossible to march through the street, or even to form in procession, on account of the restraint to which they were subjected by large bodies of police and gendarmes, they gathered here and there in small parties, displayed black or white flags inscribed "Away with Capital Punishment!" or "Thou Shalt Do No Murder," and began to sing the requiem of "Everlasting Remembrance."

A student "demonstration" in St. Petersburg always attracts an immense crowd of curious or sympathetic spectators; and before one o'clock in the afternoon the Nevski Prospect for a distance of half a mile or more was an almost solid mass of closely packed humanity. It was estimated that between Admiralty Square and the Anitchkof Bridge there were at least eight or ten thousand people, intermingled with detachments of mounted police and gendarmes, squadrons of Cossacks armed with lances, and hundreds of

students of both sexes from half a dozen different educational institutions. The populace generally seemed to sympathize with the students, and whenever one of the latter's flags was seized hundreds of voices shouted, "Down with capital punishment!" or, "Away with the death penalty!" The mounted police and gendarmes, aided by Cossacks and a battalion of riflemen from the guards, made repeated attempts to clear the Nevski by charging the people with drawn sabers, striking them now and then with *nagaikas* (Cossack riding-whips), and gradually driving them into the side streets. But as fast as they were dispersed in one place they gathered in another, and it was after three o'clock before the avenue was clear enough to admit of the passage of street cars. The police and Cossacks generally showed self-restraint in the use of their weapons, but two or three students, including one woman, were sent to hospitals with saber cuts in the head, while a number were knocked down by horses or slightly injured by blows from the rawhide *nagaikas* of the Cossacks. Forty or more students were arrested and taken under guard to police station-houses.

Among the students of the Russian universities there has always been a feeling of sympathy and solidarity, and when a protest or a "demonstration" is made in St. Petersburg it is sure to be followed by collective action of the same kind in Moscow, Kiev, Odessa, Kharkof, Warsaw, and other university towns. On the evening of November 26, three days after the St. Petersburg "demonstration" and less than a week after Tolstoy's death, eight thousand students of the Moscow University held a mass-meeting and decided to follow the example of their fellow-students in the capital by marching through the streets with mourning and anti-capital-punishment flags, singing the requiem of "Everlasting Remembrance." The result, of course, was another day of public turmoil and excitement, which ended in the calling out of troops to clear the streets. The university students, reinforced by a thousand or fifteen hundred young women from the Women's Higher Educational Courses, made four successive attempts to organize a marching procession; but they were broken up again

¹ The university is situated on Vassili Ostrof, or Basil's Island, which is separated from the official and business part of the city by the main channel of the Neva.

and again by the police, and were finally dispersed by a squadron of Don Cossacks and the Sumski regiment of hussars. All that they were able to do was to form in small bodies here and there and keep together long enough to wave black or white flags, shout "Away with capital punishment!" and sing the "Everlasting Remembrance." Three or four hundred of them were arrested, including a hundred or more women.

In the two weeks that followed Tolstoy's death memorial meetings of students were held in practically all the higher educational institutions of the Empire. In some of them the students were satisfied with the adoption of resolutions deploring the Count's death and protesting against the Government's repressive measures, while in others they decided to organize public "demonstrations" similar to those made in St. Petersburg and Moscow. Some of the street processions—that in Warsaw, for example—carried no flags and made no protest against capital punishment; but the fact that they were strictly memorial in character, and not at all political, did not save them from dispersal. Students could not march through the streets carrying portraits of Tolstoy and singing the "Everlasting Remembrance" without "exciting the public mind," and to keep the Russian mind in a state of passive inactivity has always been the prime object of bureaucratic administration.

About the middle of December, when the storm raised by the Tolstoy "demonstrations" was beginning to subside, the universities were again thrown into a state of excitement by wholly unexpected news from northern Russia and Siberia. It came in the shape of telegrams to members of the Duma, and was to the effect that the Government had begun to flog political offenders in the convict prisons. Fifty-nine criminals of this class had been whipped by the prison executioner in Vologda, and six or eight more, including one well-known student, had been subjected to the same humiliating punishment at the East Siberian mine of Gorni Zerentui. Legally, political convicts and common criminal convicts stand on the same level, and one class is no more exempt from corporal punishment

than the other; but in practice a distinction has always been made between them. Common criminals have been whipped, always and everywhere, but the flogging to death of Madame Sigida at the mines of Kara, in 1890, was the last attempt made to discipline political with the lash. They were often beaten, kicked, or clubbed with the butts of rifles, but they were never whipped with rods or the *plet*. The sudden subjection of sixty or seventy men to this hateful and disgraceful form of punishment seemed to indicate a radical change in the application of the Government's penal methods, and it profoundly shocked Russians of liberal opinions everywhere, and particularly in the universities and higher technical schools. The details of the floggings, moreover, were of such a nature as to intensify the general feeling of horror and indignation. The politicals at Vologda had been flogged because they refused to work on half rations (fasting allowances), while those at Gorni Zerentui had been whipped, by order of a new prison warden, because they would not rise and shout in unison, "We wish you health, your High Nobility," when he entered their *kameras*,¹ and because they declined to take any notice of him when he addressed them with the contemptuous *tee* (thou) instead of the courteous *vvee* (you). Of the men flogged or sentenced to be flogged at Gorni Zerentui, three took poison, which they had concealed for use in such a crisis, while three more opened veins in their arms with pieces of broken glass. One, a student named Sazonof, was reported dead, and the others were dying.

Such a tragedy as this naturally excited intense feeling in all parts of Russia, and particularly in St. Petersburg and Moscow. The Constitutional Democrats and Social Democrats immediately made urgent interpellations in the Duma, while the Government, without attempting to deny the essential facts, declared that discipline in the prisons must be maintained; that the politicals in Vologda and Gorni Zerentui had been insubordinate and defiant; and that in the latter place they had planned to escape by poisoning the prison officials with "thiocal," a drug which some of

¹ Large cells holding from ten to fifty prisoners.

them did actually have, but which was subsequently found to be perfectly harmless.

The publication of these details revived the excitement caused by the forcible repression of the Tolstoy "demonstrations;" and again the students in the universities, the women's educational courses, and the higher technical schools began to hold indoor meetings to protest, not only against the death penalty, but against the infliction of corporal punishment upon political offenders in the convict prisons. The Government thereupon directed the university councils to put a stop to these meetings and to expel the students actively engaged in organizing them. It was much easier, however, to order the meetings stopped than to stop them. The professors and councils warned the students, exhorted them, locked the doors of the assembly halls, and took such other measures of repression as seemed to them practicable; but all attempts to quiet the malcontents proved unavailing, and the Government finally resorted to forcible intervention. Strong detachments of police and gendarmes were sent into the universities to break up meetings, arrest speakers, get the names of insubordinate students, and prevent concerted or collective action in any form. This move of the administrative authorities, however, not only added fuel to the fire of dissatisfaction and insubordination, but changed the nature of the question at issue. The protest, up to this time, had been against the repressive measures taken by the Government after the death of Tolstoy and the flogging of political offenders in the convict prisons. Now it became a protest against the invasion of the universities by the police. In this form it was greatly intensified, late in December, by the shooting of a student named Iglitski during an attempt of the police to break up a meeting in the Novorossisk University of Odessa.

Before the middle of January, 1911, the students in most of the higher educational institutions of the Empire, from Warsaw to Tomsk, were practically in a state of revolt. Disorders were reported in the Polytechnic Institute, the Institute of Civil Engineers, the Technological Institute, the School of Mines, the School of Forestry, the Electro-Technical Institute,

the Women's Normal School, the Women's School of Domestic Economy, the Women's Higher Educational Courses, the Women's Medical Institute, and the University of St. Petersburg; in the Agricultural Institute, the Institute of Surveyors, the Commercial Institute, the Women's Medical Training School, the Women's Higher Educational Courses, and the University of Moscow; in the Polytechnicum and University of Kiev; in the Technological Institute and University of Tomsk; and in the Universities of Warsaw, Odessa, and Kharkof. Everywhere the police, who were practically in control, attempted to prevent or break up meetings, and everywhere the students rebelled and resisted. Driven out of the halls and lecture-rooms, they crowded into the corridors, where one-minute speeches were made to them by speakers who concealed their faces with masks; and when they were attacked in the corridors, they resorted to "chemical obstruction," and made the air unbreathable by breaking on the floor glass bottles filled with liquids that gave off suffocating gases or vapors that irritated the eyes. Hundreds of arrests were made, and scores of students were expelled or exiled; but the resistance everywhere continued.

On January 24, 1911, the Council of Ministers issued an order which not only prohibited student meetings of any kind, in any place, and for any purpose, but formally deprived the universities of the autonomy which they had previously enjoyed under the "temporary rules" of September 9, 1905, and the Imperial ukase of June 24, 1907. In the opinion of the Government, the university councils had shown their inability, or their indisposition, to suppress disorders that were clearly revolutionary in character, and it had therefore become necessary to take away from them their administrative and disciplinary powers. The promulgation of this order was followed by the resignation of more than a hundred professors, including the rectors and pro-rectors of the Moscow University and the University of St. Petersburg, and by a general strike of the students in nearly all of the higher educational institutions of the Empire. How many students participated in this strike it is impossible to say, but probably not

less than thirty thousand. In the Moscow University alone there were more than ten thousand enrolled students, and nearly all of them declined to continue their studies under existing conditions.

In dealing with student disorders between the years 1885 and 1911 the Government made a practice of closing the universities temporarily, in order to give excitement time to subside; but this year it determined to keep them open and break up the strike by means of administrative terrorism. In pursuance of this policy it expelled three hundred and seventy-five students of the Technological Institute in Tomsk; fined or imprisoned four hundred and thirty-one students of the University in Kiev; exiled thirty-six students of the Novorossisk University in Odessa; and arrested, imprisoned, expelled, or banished hundreds of others in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Warsaw, and Kharkof. At the same time it filled the universities and higher technical schools with police and gendarmes, and compelled the professors to give their lectures at scheduled hours without regard to the number of students who listened to them. In many of the class-rooms of St. Petersburg and Moscow a professor might be seen lecturing on history, geology, or jurisprudence to one student and a police officer. But many of the "faculties" were soon left without professors, as well as without students. Minister of Public Instruction Kasso admitted, in an interview published on the 16th of February, that there were one hundred and twelve professorial chairs vacant in the universities and higher technical schools, and that he did not know where to find men to put into them. Before the end of the month the number of vacant chairs increased to one hundred and fifty-three, and the professors who had left them represented the flower of Russian literary and scientific culture. In commenting upon this state of affairs Minister Kasso said that it would probably become necessary to educate young men for Russian professorial chairs in Germany and France, where they would not be influenced by the revolutionary spirit that seemed to pervade Russia, and he suggested Paris, Berlin, and Heidelberg as places where it might be expedient to establish special Russian schools for the

education and training of a "politically trustworthy" class of instructors. This extraordinary suggestion, however, was ridiculed by the Russian liberal press on the ground that foreign training increased, rather than diminished, politically untrustworthy tendencies. The most liberal, as well as the most distinguished, of the Russian professors were men who had traveled or been educated abroad.

Although the Government by its repressive policy has alienated the best and ablest of its professors and forced twenty-five or thirty thousand students into open rebellion, it shows no disposition to yield or to modify its aggressive attitude. The police still govern all the higher educational institutions of the Empire, and in most of them the strike still continues. The question at issue now is not whether capital punishment should be abolished or whether political offenders should be flogged in the convict prisons, but whether or not Russian universities shall be arbitrarily governed by the police and insubordinate Russian students be sent to Siberia by "administrative process," without trial or hearing. In discussing student disorders in Paris, some years since, Prime Minister Clemenceau said: "It is impossible to enforce measures that students do not like and to impose upon them professors who are objectionable to them. An overwhelming majority of students are of age, and consequently are free citizens; and a university is not a barrack." Practically the same opinion was expressed twenty-five years ago by Associate Minister of the Interior Trepof, then the all-powerful head of the Russian police. At a meeting of the Council of Ministers held in St. Petersburg in August, 1885, for the purpose of considering the government of universities, General Trepof said: "The police should not, and hereafter will not, take repressive measures inside the walls of educational institutions. The enforcement of such measures by the police does not remove the causes of disorder, but, on the contrary, brings about still greater disorder, not only in the particular school affected by them, but in the other educational institutions of the Empire. It creates, moreover, and with reason, an excited state of public feeling. The university councils should have full power

to deal with students, and if they find it impossible to control them without the aid of the police they should be authorized to close, temporarily, universities where disorders occur." In this opinion Imperial Comptroller Schwanebach and Minister of Justice Manukhin coincided, and after further discussion it was unanimously agreed that the university laws of 1884 should be so changed as to place the government of all the higher educational institutions of the Empire in the hands of their professorial councils.

This action of the Council of Ministers in 1885 may serve as a measure of the present reaction. Premier Stolypin and his associates, in their university policy, have gone back to methods that were abandoned as unjust and inadequate more than a quarter of a century ago. The results

are a crippled force of instructors, empty class-rooms, an army of rebellious students, and a general revival of revolutionary feeling, if not of revolutionary activity.

The eminent Russian surgeon Pirogof once said: "A university is a barometer which shows the state of the public mind. A wise man does not break the instrument, but learns from it what the weather is likely to be." The present Russian Government is breaking its barometers, because they point to "Stormy" instead of "Fair," and is scattering the pieces through sub-Arctic Russia and Siberia by "administrative process." But the broken fragments are neither lost nor annihilated. In far-away Archangel, Vologda, Tobolsk, Turukhansk, and Verkholsk, they still exist, and out of them the Angel of Wrath is making terrorists.

IN THE RAIN

BY ELISABETH WOODBRIDGE

IT was raining. It had begun to rain the afternoon before; it had rained all night, with the drizzling, sozzling kind of rain that indicated persistence. It had rained all the morning; it was obviously going to rain all day. The hollow beside the stone hitching-post, where the grocer's horse and the butcher's horse and the fishman's horse had stamped all through the drought, was now a pool of brown water, with the rain-drops making gooseflesh on it. There was another pond under the front gate, and another under the hammock; and the middle of the road, in the horse-rut, was a narrow brown brook. The tiger-lilies in the old stump were bending with their load of wetness, the phlox in the garden was weighed down till its white masses nearly touched earth. Indoors, when the wind lulled and the rain fell straighter, we could hear the drops tick-tick-ticking on the bark of the birch logs in the fireplace. This flue of the chimney is almost vertical, with a slant to the southward, and I have always liked the way it lets in samples of the weather—a patch of yellow sunshine on clear days;

a blur of soft white light on gray ones, and on stormy ones flicks of rain to make the fire sputter, or, as on this particular day, to dampen our kindling if it has been laid ready to light.

The belated postman's buggy, with presumably a postman inside it somewhere behind the sheathing of black rubber, drove up, our mail-box grated open and shut, and the streaming horse sloshed on. Jonathan turned up his collar and dashed out to the box, and dashed in again, bringing with him a great gust of rainy sweetness and the smell of wet woolen.

"Jonathan," I said, "let's take a walk."

He was unfolding the damp newspaper carefully so as not to tear it. "What's that? Walk?"

"That's what I said."

He had his paper open by this time, and was glancing at the headlines. When a man is glancing at headlines, it is just as well to let him glance. I gave him fifteen minutes. Then I reopened the matter.

"Jonathan, I said walk."

"What's that?" His tone was vague. It was what I call his newspaper tone. It

suggests extreme remoteness, but tolerance, even benevolence, if he is let alone. He drifted slowly over to the window and made a pretense of looking out, but his eyes were still running down the columns. "My dear," he remarked, still in the same tone, "had you noticed that it is beginning to rain?"

"I noticed that yesterday afternoon, about three o'clock," I said.

"Oh, all right. I thought perhaps you hadn't."

"Well?" I waited.

"Well—" he hung fire while he finished the tail of an editorial. Then he threw down the paper. "Don't you think it's rather poor weather for walking?"

This was what I had been waiting for, and I responded glibly, "Some one has said there is no such thing as bad weather, there is only good clothes."

"Do you mean mine?" He grinned down at his farm regimentals.

"Well, then—"

"Why, of course, if you really mean it," he said, and added, as he looked out reflectively at the puddling road, "You'll get your hair wet."

"Hope so. Now, Jonathan, aren't you silly, really? Anybody would think we'd never been for a walk in the rain before in our lives. Perhaps you'd rather stay indoors and be a tabby-cat and keep dry."

"Who got the mail?"

"You did. But you wanted the paper—and you ran."

The fact was, as I very well knew, Jonathan really wanted to go, but he didn't want to start. When people really enjoy doing a thing, and mean to do it, and yet won't get going, something has to be done to get them going. That was why I spoke of tabby-cats.

Jonathan assumed an alert society tone. "I should enjoy a walk very much, thank you," he said; "the weather seems to me perfect. But," he added abruptly, "wear woolen; that white thing won't do."

"Of course!" I went off and made myself fit—woolen for warmth, though the day was not cold, a short khaki skirt that shed water, an old felt hat, and old shoes. Out we went into the drenched world. Whish! A gust of rain in my eyes half blinded me, and I ran under the big maples. I heard Jonathan chuckle. "I

can't help it," I gasped; "I'll be wet enough in a few minutes, and then I sha'n't care." From the maples I made for the lee of the barn eaves, disturbing the hens who were sulking there. They stepped ostentatiously out into the rainy barn-yard with an air of pointedly *not* noticing me, but of knowing all the time whose fault it was. They weren't liking the weather, anyhow, the hens weren't, and showed it plainly in the wet, streaky droop of their feathers and the exasperated look in their red eyes.

"Those hens look as if they thought I could do something about it if I only would," I said to Jonathan as we passed them.

"Yes, they aren't a cordial crowd. Here, we'll show them how to take weather!" We were passing under an apple tree; Jonathan seized a drooping bough, and a sheet of water shook itself out on our shoulders. I gasped and ducked, and a hen who stood too near scattered off with low cluckings of indignation.

"Now you're really wet, you can enjoy yourself," said Jonathan; and there was something in it, though I was loth to admit it at the moment. A moment before I had felt rather appalled at the sight of the rain-swept lane; now I hastened on recklessly.

"I think," said Jonathan, "it's the back of my neck that counts. After that's wet I don't care what happens."

"Yes," I agreed, "that's a stronghold. But I think with me it's my shoulders." It did not really matter which it was—neck and shoulders both were wet, back, arms, everything. We tramped down across the hollow, over the brook, whose flood was backing up into the swamp on each side. I paused to look off across the huckleberry hillside beyond.

"How the rain changes everything!" I said. All the colors had freshened and darkened, and the blur of the rain softened the picture and "brought it together," as the painters say.

"Well," said Jonathan, "woods or open?"

"Which is the wettest?"

"Woods."

"Then woods." And we plunged in under the big chestnuts, through a mass of witch-hazel and birch.

Jonathan was quite right. Woods

were the wettest. One can hardly fancy anything quite so wet. Solid water, like a river, is not comparable, because it is all in one lump; you know where it is, and you can get out of it when you want to. But here in the woods the water was everywhere, ready to hurl itself upon us, from above, from beside us, from below. Every step, every motion, drew upon us drenching showers of great drops that had been hanging heavily in the leaves ready to break away at a touch. Little streamlets of water ran from the drooping edges of my hat and from my chin, water dashed in my eyes and I blinked it out. Jonathan, pausing to hold back a dripping spray of blackberry, heavy with fruit, remarked, "Aren't you getting a little damp?"

"I wonder if I am!" I answered joyously, and plunged on into the next thicket.

There is as much exhilaration in being out in a big rain and getting really rained through, as there is in being out in surf. It has nothing in common with the sensations that arise when, umbrellaed and mackintoshed and rubber-overshoed, we pick our way gingerly along the street, wondering how much we can keep dry, hoping everything is "up" all round, wishing the wind wouldn't keep changing and blowing the umbrella so, and fancying how we shall look when we "get there." But when you don't care—when you want to get wet, and do—there is a physical glow that is delightful, a sense of being washed through and through, of losing one's identity almost, and being washed away into the great swirl of nature where one doesn't count much; but is glad to be taken in as a part. I fancy this is true with any of the elements—earth, air, water. The tale of Antæus was no mere legend; there is real strength for us in close contact with the earth. There is a purifying and uplifting potency in the winds, a potency in the waters—ocean and river and great rain. Our civilization has dealt with all these so successfully that we are apt to think of them as docile servants, or perhaps as petty annoyances, and we lose the sense of their power unless we deliberately go out to meet them in their own domain and let them have their way with us. Then,

indeed, they sweep us out of ourselves for a season, and that is good.

We came out from the thickets on a high, brushy field, sheeted in fine rain that dimmed even the near wood-edges. Blackberries grew thick, and we made our way carefully among the briers, following the narrow and devious cow-paths. Suddenly we both stopped. Just ahead of us, under a blackberry bush, was a huge snapping-turtle. He was standing on his hind legs, with his fore legs resting on a branch loaded with fruit, his narrow dark head stretched far up and out, while he quietly ate berry after berry. He was a handsome fellow, with his big black shell all brilliant in the wetness of the rain. As he worked we could see his under side, and notice how it shaded to yellow along the sutures. It was a scene of contentment, and the berries, dripping with fresh rain-drops, looked luscious indeed as he feasted.

We stood and watched him for a while, and I got an entirely new idea of turtles. Turtles usually have too much reserve, too much self-consciousness, too little *abandon*, and I had never seen one so "come out of himself," literally and figuratively, as this fellow did. It made me want to follow up the acquaintance, this happy chance of finding him, so to speak, in his cups, but I repressed the desire, feeling that he might not share it, and we carefully backed away and went around by another path so as not to disturb the reveler. He never knew how much pleasure he had given as well as received.

Into the woods again—"Look out!" said Jonathan. "Don't step on the lizards!" He stooped and picked up one, which struck an attitude among his dripping fingers—sleek back a little arched, legs in odd, uncouth positions, tail set stiffly in a queer curve. They are brilliant little creatures, with their clear orange-red coats, scarlet-spotted, like a trout.

"Pretty little chap, isn't he?" said Jonathan.

"Stylish," I said, "but foolish. They never do anything, that I can see, except attitudinize."

"But they do a great deal of that," said Jonathan, as he set him gently down.

"Come on," I said; "I can't stand here being sentimental over your pets. It's raining."

"Oh, if you'd like to go—" said Jonathan, and set a pace. I followed hard, and we raced down through the empty woods, sliding over the great wet rocks, rolling over black fallen tree-trunks, our feet sinking noiselessly in the soft leaf-mold of the forest floor. Out again, and through the edge of a corn-field where the broad, wavy ribbon-leaves squeaked as we thrust them aside, as only corn leaves can squeak. If we had not been wet already, this would have finished us. There is nothing any wetter than a wet corn-field.

On over the open pastures, with a grassy swamp at the bottom. We tramped carelessly through it, not even looking for tussocks, and the water sucked merrily in and out of our shoes. Into brush once more—thick hazel and scrub-oak; then down a slope, and we were in the hemlock ravine—a wonderful bit of tall woods, dark-shadowed, solemn, hardly changed by the rain, only perhaps a thought darker and stiller, with deeper blue depths of hazy distance between the straight black trunks. At the bottom a brook with dark pools lying beneath mossy rock ledges, or swirling under great hemlock roots, little waterfalls, and shallow rapids over smooth-worn rock faces. It is a wonderful place, a place for a German fairy-tale.

The woods were empty—in a sense, yes. Except for the lizards, the animals run to cover during the rain; woodchucks, rabbits, squirrels, are tucked away somewhere out of sight and sound. Bird notes are hushed; the birds, lurking close-reefed under the lee of the big branches or the heavy foliage, or at the heart of the cedar trees, make no sign as we pass.

Empty, yet not lonely. When the sun is out and the sky is high and bright, one feels that the world is a large place, belonging to many creatures. But when the sky shuts down and the world is close-wrapped in rain and drifting mist, it seems to grow smaller and more intimate. Instead of feeling the multitudinousness of the life of woods and fields, one feels its unity. We are brought together in the bonds of the rain—we and all the hidden creatures—we seem all in one room together.

Thus swept into the unity of a dominating mood, the woods sometimes gain

a voice of their own. I heard it first on a stormy night when I was walking along the wood-road to meet Jonathan. It was a night of wind and rain and blackness—blackness so dense that it seemed a real thing, pressing against my eyes, so complete that at the fork in the roads I had to feel with my hand for the wheel-ruts in order to choose the right one. As I grew accustomed to the swish of the rain in my face and the hoarse breath of the wind about my ears I became aware of another sound—a background of tone. I thought at first it was a child calling, but no, it was not that; it was not a call, but a song; and not that either—it was more like many voices, high but not shrill, and very far away, softly intoning. It was neither sad nor joyous; it suggested dreamy, reiterant thoughts; it was not music, but the memory of music. If one listened too keenly, it was gone, like a faint star which can be glimpsed only if one looks a little away from it.

As I had listened that night I began to wonder if it was all my own fancy, and when I met Jonathan I made him stop. "Wait a minute," I begged him, "and listen."

"I hear it. Come on," he had said. Supper was in his thoughts.

"What do you hear?"

"Just what you do."

"What's that?" I had persisted, as we fumbled our way along.

"Voices—I don't know what you'd call it—the woods. It often sounds like that in a big rain."

Jonathan's matter-of-factness had rather pleased me. "I thought it might be my imagination. I'm glad it wasn't," I said.

"Perhaps it's both our imaginations," he suggested.

"No. We both do lots of imagining, but it never overlaps. When it does, it shows it's so." Perhaps I was not very clear, but he seemed to understand.

Since then I have heard it now and again, this singing of the rain-swept woods, not often, for it is a capricious thing; or perhaps I ought rather to say I do not understand the manner of its uprising. Rain alone will not bring it to pass, wind alone will not, and sometimes even when they are importuned by wind and rain together the woods are silent. Perhaps, too, it is not every stretch of woods that can sing,

or at all seasons. In winter they can whistle, and sigh, and creak, but I am sure that when I have heard these singing voices they have always had their full leafage. But however it comes about, I am glad of the times that I have heard it. And whenever I read tales of the Wild Huntsman and all his kind, there come into my mind as an interpreting background memories of wonderful black nights and storm-ridden woods swept by overtones of distant and elusive sound.

We did not hear the woods sing that day. Perhaps there was not wind enough,

or perhaps the woods on the "home piece" are not big enough, for it chanced that I have never heard the sound there.

As we came up the lane at dusk we saw the glimmer of the house lights.

"Doesn't that look good?" I said to Jonathan. "And won't it be good when we are all dry and in front of the fire and you have your pipe and I'm making toast?"

I am perfectly sure that Jonathan agreed with me, but what he said was, "I thought you came out for pleasure."

"Well, can't I come home for pleasure too?" I asked.

MAX REGER AND THE CLASSICAL REACTION

BY ROBERT HAVEN SCHAUFFLER

ONLY the other day I first began to suspect that the epoch-making event which many of us have long awaited was actually beginning to occur. It was Max Reger who unstopped my heedless ears.

For some time I had been interested in his music, especially in the orchestral "Prologue to a Tragedy," which seemed to combine an extremely modern development of instrumentation and harmony with a feeling for the unities quite foreign to his French contemporaries, an actual gift of real melody and a command of polyphony unsurpassed in our day.

Recently Mr. Wilhelm Heinrich, the sightless tenor, had come home fresh from a visit to Reger's home and had sung me full of the German's extraordinary songs, bringing out the fact that Reger—like his great master, Bach—is a humorist of no mean ability, as when he analyzes woman in the psychological song, "Schmeichelkätzchen," or depicts the whining of little Liza in the prelude to the "Strampelchen." Mr. Heinrich had had many amiable wrangles with Reger about modern tendencies in music, and had been obliged to champion his friend Debussy against the other's attacks.

The gist of their argument is interest-

ing, despite the fact that Reger is no more a philosopher than creative artists generally are. Reger called Debussy an invertebrate, and accused him of throwing form to the winds. Mr. Heinrich very properly contended that the Frenchman had merely made new forms for himself. "Ach," cried Reger, springing to his feet, "*zu diesen Tagen gibt's überhaupt kein Form mehr!*" ("Alas, nowadays there isn't any more form, anyhow!") Then he spoke of himself as fighting single-handed in the rôle of champion of form in modern music, and contended that he had succeeded in making the old bottles hold his new wine.

Now all this is rather significant—although Reger is, of course, as far wrong in his estimate of himself as of Debussy. For we know that Reger's bottles are at least half composed of brand-new glass; and we all know, or pretend to, that radicals like Debussy are always inventing for themselves genuine new forms—although this confidence of ours occasionally grows a bit shaky and we feel inclined to paraphrase Browning's word to old Galuppi:

"The form, doubtless, is immortal—where a form can be discerned."

One day not long after the conversation

with Mr. Heinrich a level-headed editor began talking of Reger with the utmost enthusiasm. "Have you heard the new E flat quartet?" he asked me. "No? Then go and hear it the first chance you have. The Kneisels played it last night, and simply revolutionized my idea of Reger. I had thought of him as heavy, with the heaviness of dark German beer; subtle, but with the gnarled, unglamorous involution of the higher geometry—simply a musical mathematician gone to seed, and without much emotion or sense of beauty." (This, by the by, is the way editors often talk.) "Well, this new work changes everything. It's the only thing on last night's programme that I could stand hearing over half a dozen times in succession. Why, it's the sort of music that will wear like armor-plate!"

The other pieces on that programme, as I learned with astonishment, had been a ripe quartet of Beethoven and the Schumann quintet. At once I was seized with an urgent desire to hear this revolutionary work.

The following day I spent an hour over the score of it with Mr. Kneisel, marveling as he pointed out the polyphonic skill which had made the four parts so independent; at the uniqueness of the *scherzo*, a form which Reger best knows how to make completely his own; at the sensuous wonder and sonority of the *larghetto*, written in the most effective register of each instrument; and the imposing architecture of the closing fugue, whose dizzying technic, however, seemed no more to hamper Reger's fresh spontaneity than if it were the mistiest improvisation of a super-Frenchman. In Mr. Kneisel's opinion the *larghetto* is among the most beautiful and effective passages in the literature of chamber music. "There is no other quartet movement that so sounds out to the audience," he declared, in the distinctive phraseology of the musician.

Before I left the house Mr. Kneisel had promised me a special private performance of the work, and in the event he was even better than his word. Meanwhile I let slip no opportunity of hearing more of Reger's orchestral and chamber music, or of gathering some idea of the man himself from those who knew him.

Mr. Theodore Spiering (the concert-

master of the Philharmonic Society, who has of late been filling Mr. Mahler's shoes so amply) was good enough to play me the first of the eleven sonatas for violin unaccompanied—works comparable alone to the suites with which Bach founded the modern school of violin-playing, but which the original Reger has made scarcely reminiscent of their old progenitor.

Mr. Spiering had recently seen much of the composer in Germany and Switzerland, and described him as a tall man who looked even heavier than his more than two hundred pounds, with big, rough-hewn features and shoulders bowed as if from much stooping over a desk. Coming from such a massive figure, his voice seems rather light in quality. He speaks rapidly and with as few "rests" as any part in one of his fully scored quartets. With mouth or music-pen he can express himself with equal facility. His bolts of repartee are hair-triggered. As Mr. Spiering put it, "He seems to be forever effervescing." His wit is of the bright, sparkling, French variety and is rather too apt—as indeed his choice of song lyrics indicates—to verge on the salacious. This tendency, taken with his love of conviviality, seems to show how he tries to balance the austere erudition of much of his writing.

It is curious to observe how often this need for a counterpoise makes an artist in his hours of leisure personally quite different from the character of his art. Mr. Heinrich, after visiting both Reger and his great French contemporary and gauging them with the delicate perceptions of the blind, declared that Reger, the married man, the most Teutonic composer of the day, seemed more like a light-hearted French bachelor, while Debussy was close to the normal type of German family man.

Mr. Kneisel did not forget his promise. One morning his voice came over the telephone announcing that he had put the E flat on his programme at Newark the following evening, and inviting me to go with the quartet.

On the train it developed that two of the four artists knew Reger personally. Behind the scenes, in the intervals of warming up their instruments, they told me of his humor and his eccentricities and

of his singular, velvety, cat-like touch, which can arouse the cut-and-dried piano tone into surprising fullness of life. And they told me what a dare-devil he was in his art, composing far too fast and carelessly and relying too much on the astounding technical facility which allows him to vault into any musical saddle and feel at home from the first plunge. The sense of the meeting seemed to be that, significant figure as he already is, he will be a great deal more significant once he has outlived his wild musical adolescence.

The Reger quartet came first on the programme. If the opening movement held more with the restless tone of the contemporary Frenchmen, and the unique, scudding, soaring *scherzo* foreshadowed the aviation music of the future, the last two movements, for all their modernity, owed unashamed allegiance to the mighty past.

When, a year before, I had heard Elgar's new symphony, I had felt that the long-looked-for event was close at hand. But when, in that Newark hall, there sounded the calm depths, the melodic beauty and formal clarity of the Reger *larghetto*, and then the fugue with its massive grandeur, deepening toward the end into the impressive authority of a very Bach, and when I saw how perfectly these harmonized with the Beethoven that followed, and with what equal pleasure both the new and the old were received, I began to wonder whether the long-drawn-out movement of nineteenth-century romanticism were not even now turning, and beginning to swing, though almost imperceptibly, towards the new classicism.

For if history can tell us anything about the future, it shows that the times have long been ripening for this event.

Art swings forever like a slow pendulum between romanticism and classicism; only this pendulum is not fixed, like others, in one spot, but is carried slowly along the path of progress so that its shadow keeps zigzagging from side to side.

Now romanticism and classicism are purely technical and relative terms, and should not be confused either with romance or the classics. They represent in the sphere of art those two correlative world tendencies which historians call radicalism and conservatism, except that the sting

must be extracted from both of these terms before they can safely be used in talking about beautiful things. Romanticism lays more stress on the emotional, classicism on the intellectual. The one is more engrossed with the expression of subjective feeling; the other, with the more formal and objective. In a word, romanticism enriches, classicism clarifies.

I know of no clearer description of the workings of the law of periodicity in art than the one Mason gives in "From Grieg to Brahms." "For a while it [art] develops its power of synthesis until it is able to present a few simple factors of effect in clear, salient unity. This is what is called a period of classicism. Then, dissatisfied with its attainment, desiring a richer reflection of the great whirl of experience, it reaches out after novel effects; its vision is for a while more extended than clear, and, presenting many effects which it cannot yet unify, it becomes brilliant, suggestive, fragmentary, turgid, inchoate. There has been a sacrifice of the old simple clarity for a richer chaos, or, in the trite terminology, a romantic movement. Now, however, technical skill and synthetic power of thought again advance, and a new and complex order supervenes on the temporary confusion. Unity of effect is regained, art is classic once more (but with increased wealth of meaning), and the time is ripe for another burst of romanticism."

The romanticist is the child who finds the house stuffy and runs out to romp on the sunny beach and wanders far, having all kinds of strange and wonderful experiences, until he falls into a quicksand. And the classicist is his learned father, the renowned professor, who pulls the lad out and carries him home to bed. Thereupon he empties the little pockets and discovers—among the bits of kelp and sea-urchins and curious pebbles and shreds of jellyfish—three or four absolutely new and priceless specimens to add to his incomparable but somewhat dusty shell collection. It is exactly the impulse he needs, and he gets out the feather duster and sets to work with renewed enthusiasm.

It is good to realize that these two are quite necessary to one another. For, if the man steadies and saves the lad, the lad brightens the man up and makes his life very rich.

"If there be no romantic movement," Mason goes on to explain, "there is stagnation, pedantry, academicism; if there be no classical period of assimilation, we have vagueness and turgidity, qualities even more fatal, since . . . the justification of art is its power to clarify."

Now it is perfectly easy to make out the separate oscillations of the huge pendulum if only one can get centuries enough away for an adequate view. In an ancient art like architecture, for example, one sees clearly how art swung from the classical Romanesque to the romantic Gothic, back to the classical Renaissance, and forth in due time to the romantic *baroque*, to give a last *rococo* jerk in the same direction before the classical Empire reaction, and so on.

When we pass, however, to the young art of music, it is not so easy to see in a large way. Our noses are almost too close to the wet paint to allow us a clear view of the picture. But we can discern this, at least, that the present romantic movement, inaugurated by Weber and Schumann, and now almost a century old, has for some time shown symptoms of a rather too ripe age. Classical periods sicken for their end in pedantry and desiccation. But the beginnings of the end of musical romanticism are heralded by chaotic vagueness, intellectual flabbiness, the habit of musical paradox whose Shavian motto is, "Anything for a rise!"—a restless straining after novelty for its own sake. There is one other symptom, and this is common to both movements in their extreme stages; it is the absence of original melody, which is the very vital principle of the art. All else in music—form, harmony, counterpoint, instrumentation—may be laboriously acquired. Melody can never be acquired. The melodist, like the poet, is born, not made.

Now, in thus describing the inevitable symptoms of the decay of a romantic period, have we not been describing the chief faults of those brilliant, suggestive, daring, exciting, dazzling leaders of the musical world to-day—Debussy and Strauss? These engaging figures are busily gathering many rare shells for the great collection. But how long are we to go on depending upon them? It is rather as though little Johnny, the sun-

beam of the family, should be given entire charge of the household. The establishment would soon get into the most unsatisfactory state.

Without for one moment wishing to speak of one art in terms of another, I would like to call attention to a curious parallelism between the period of musical romanticism now ending and the *baroque* period in architecture and design. Both were given their initial impetus by a giant of the previous classical period in his struggles for greater freedom of emotional expression—Michelangelo on the one hand, Beethoven on the other. When this impetus was spent, the *baroque*, instead of swinging back to classicism, was pushed on by the influence of Louis XV almost *ad absurdum* into the more violent romanticism of the *rococo*—that architecture of ornament which was so vague and unstructural that it scarcely merits the name of architecture. Likewise, when musical romanticism had run its course from Weber to Berlioz and Liszt, and seemed almost ready for the return journey, Wagner appeared and gave it a mighty fillip in the same direction. I have even wondered sometimes whether the long and bitter opposition to Wagner's innovations was not due in part to a sort of blind intuition in the souls of his opponents that he was reversing the natural order of events by the sheer power of his personal genius, and that such a thing was not quite healthy. At any rate, Wagner brought it about that Brahms, who would have been the natural leader of the classical reaction, became like a man born out of due time. If he had come a generation later, he would be the leader to-day and not Reger. As it was, his clarifying influence only prolonged the romantic period by delaying its culmination.

But, because it is wrong, even in the light of a great common law, to set up hard and fast analogies between two different arts, I would not for the world call the works of current romanticism "our *rococo* music." But I feel, all the same, that Debussy and Strauss have in their art pushed romanticism quite as far as ever the architects of Louis XV did in theirs. And it was surely a curious coincidence that Mr. Gustav Mahler should himself have mentioned the *rococo*, in speaking to

me of Debussy, before I had broached the idea of this paper.

"Debussy!" said he, with one of his quick, conductor's gestures, "ah, Debussy is a man who has a genuine abhorrence of the large. Show him Chimborazo, and he will cry: 'Take it away! That's nothing!' Show him, however, a small *rococo* statuette in Dresden china, and that will just please him."

Mr. Mahler's words must, of course, be discounted by the fact that he is a creative artist in a large way, and stands perhaps next to Reger in Germany as a leading classical spirit. But it is none the less interesting to know that he thinks the modern romanticists have gone very far afield in their search for musical riches, and have even wandered beyond the pale of their art. "Now, Debussy," said he, "is more of an impressionist painter and Strauss is more of a literary man, while Reger and I—we are more strictly musical." As he spoke he rested his elbow on a score of his "Fifth Symphony," which was clad, I noticed, in the stately Peters Edition. "We are the modern classicists, but that does not mean that we go back to write in the old forms. Why, if any one had written a symphony in this form a hundred years ago"—he brought his hand down slap on the green score—"they'd have thrown him right out. Do you realize that Beethoven invented different forms for his different symphonies as he went on, and that the 'Ninth' belonged already when he wrote it to the music of the far-distant future? Ah, no, a classical reaction never goes back to the old forms. Even when art seems to be going around in a circle it is but *Schein*—illusion. Art is really rolling around in an upward spiral. For what seem to be the old classical forms are in reality the new classical forms, only they are on the next round above. They are actually as much higher than the romanticism they supplant as that romanticism is higher than the former classicism."

Now let us for a moment suppose that the classical reaction has not yet really begun. When it comes, what will its leaders in all probability be like? History prophesies that they will express themselves in stricter, simpler forms and more coherently than the romanticists; that they will have the

authentic gift of melody; that their technic will be far better assimilated and subordinated to its proper place as a mere means of self-expression.

When we come to think of it, is not Reger such a person? To my mind he is. And each year he is growing to be a more typical classicist. Whether we realize it or not, the new classicism is in the air to-day. Musicians and music lovers in every land are beginning to revolt from the current excesses of musical mysticism. They are beginning to creep along up towards the other side of Mr. Mahler's spiral.

Certainly it will be many years before this movement can assume the popular importance and influence that romanticism has to-day. But even now there is a steadily growing list of established composers who have come into the divine birthright of melody and are remolding the grand old shattered forms "nearer to the heart's desire." Intellect and masculinity are coming back into their own. -

But the best criterion of the future is the rising generation. And, to my mind, it is very significant to see promising young composers, like von Gaertner and Stock, Grasse and Palmer, Hadley and Wathall—to mention only a few American names—writing symphonies and chamber music full of the spirit of the neo-classicism.

And one remembers that Reger, the leader, is barely thirty-eight. It seems hardly credible that so young a man could have qualified as leader by his amazing mastery of strict form and by, at the same time, assimilating faster than any other the rich spoils of the ultra-romanticists.

The situation seems to be this: Debussy and Strauss are fast disappearing into the quicksand. To them enter Reger with his large Teutonic hand outstretched. At this moment he is busy turning the last one of those pockets inside out and is battenning on the contents. His digestion, it may be remarked, rivals that of the ostrich.

That the public is ready to meet the classical reaction half-way is indicated by such things as the astonishing success of the three-day Reger Festival at Dortmund last May, and by the fact that Reger was the chief figure at the Zurich festival of the Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein in the same month. Indeed, this movement

has been so long delayed that the popular taste even seems to have anticipated it, as witness the multiplication of Bach festivals in different parts of the world of late, and the ever-growing interest in Beethoven and Brahms, who were never before so popular as at the present moment.

This tendency is quite in harmony with the reaction from impressionism in painting, and in literature from the rich, romantic chaos of Walt Whitman (but the literary reaction needs a separate essay), and with that yearning for the sane, simple, clear-cut joys of country life which is coming over the sophisticated, bedazed minds of our city dwellers.

A number of my friends agree with me that the neo-classical movement in music can be said to have already begun. Whether it actually has or not, I do not

care a fig; for it is bound to come before very long. But what I do care about very much indeed is to have learned the wisdom of catholicity in judging the beautiful, and the utter foolishness of hostility toward any great movement in art.

It is such a comfortable thing to know that romanticism and classicism need each other like man and woman, like body and soul, and that art needs both if that great system of variety in unity is to keep alive.

To one who used to look with a jaundiced eye on the wraithlike Debussy hovering amid his strangled melodies, it is like a draught of cordial to realize that the full value of to-day's romanticists will appear only when the coming classicists have performed their rigorous, selective work of pocket-picking.

LETTERS TO THE OUTLOOK

GUESSWORK HISTORY

An English poet, Dryden, enthusiastically told the world some centuries ago that

"Not Heaven itself upon the Past has power."

But we have changed all that. In his long "review and impression" of my good old friend John Brown, whom neither he nor his guesswork historian, Mr. Villard, ever knew—an impression more than a review—Dr. Abbott has shown that from an Outlook far enough off the past can be made to change its character. The future, of course, has always been at the mercy of able editors, who can predict as freely as any Hebrew prophet. In that combination of past and future which constitutes the *grand peut-être* or impossible might-have-been Mr. Villard excels. For example, he informs us as follows:

It is idle to assert that Kansas never would have been free had it not weltered in blood in 1856; if the Sharp's rifle policy had not been followed. Climate and soil fought in Kansas on the side of the Free State men. The familiar slave crops never could have been raised in Kansas, with its bleak winters. Moreover, the South was never a colonizing section.

Having been alive and observant at the date mentioned by our guesswork historian, and sharing with Abraham Lincoln and Senator Atchison the knowledge that Kansas in 1855-6 was not only attractive to slaveholders, with their human property, but actually had among its few inhabitants about one in every forty residing there as a slave, I wrote making inquiries to a friend who has lived for more than thirty years, sometimes in Missouri and sometimes in Kansas, where he now is. He writes me:

Slavery had a much more vigorous growth in Missouri north of the river than in its southern

part. . . . The heavy slave counties of Missouri were along the Missouri River, in latitude about equal to central Kansas, and the climate of Kansas has always been more salubrious and milder than that of Missouri. Our State does now, and always did, produce well two crops believed profitable for slave labor—tobacco and hemp. Southern Kansas raises splendid cotton. Any crop raised in Kentucky (where I was born) or Missouri can be raised equally well in Kansas. In the thirty years I have lived in Kansas I have seen but three cold winters. The soil-and-climate theory was originated as an excuse for the pro-slavery party when it was found that slavery was beaten here by the Free State men; it was propagated industriously by G. W. Brown, but never fooled any genuine Free State Kansan.

It certainly did not deceive Atchison, who in 1855 wrote to Amos Lawrence (April 15, 1855): "Let me suggest that you purchase \$90,000 worth of negroes, come out to Kansas, feed and clothe your slaves well, give them employment, cover the prairies with wheat, hemp, and corn, feed your cattle on a thousand hills, assist your poor neighbor, and you will do more good for your race, white and black, than you are doing or can do in Boston."

Nor did it deceive Lincoln, who wrote in December, 1859: "Senator Douglas says, whoever wants slavery has a right to have it; that whether the people will have it or not is simply a question of dollars and cents; that the Almighty has drawn a line across the continent, on one side of which the soil must be cultivated by slave labor." And Lincoln then proceeded, with his exact logic (in which neither Dr. Abbott nor Mr. Villard has imitated him), to show that slavery is not an economic question merely, but is a moral wrong, and can be kept out of our territory only by positive law, as it is now

kept out by Lincoln's emancipation decree, enforced by Act of Congress.

As for the colonization of slave territory by the South, how does our guesswork historian, a prophet of the might-have-been, suppose Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, and even Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, became infested with slavery, if not in their colonization by slaveholders from Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas? Northern emigrants did not carry slavery there, though they often adopted it as a question of dollars and cents; but the colonization by slaves was an exclusively Southern act, and the most familiar and universal slave crop was slaves, born and bred in Virginia and other Eastern States, and colonized, by sale and migration, in the newer States.

Dr. Abbott praises the impartiality of Mr. Villard; in this case it must have been the impartiality of ignorance: for every contemporary of John Brown and Lincoln, the two immortal martyrs of emancipation, knew the facts to be otherwise. Dr. Abbott does not adopt this guesswork; indeed, he does not seem to have read his author with much care. Mr. Villard says Brown went to Europe in 1849 (which is true); Dr. Abbott says in 1851. Mr. Villard puts his convention of 1858 at St. Catherine's in Canada; Dr. Abbott at Charlestown in West Virginia. Dr. Abbott says that Brown belonged to that class of Abolitionists who called the Constitution "an agreement with hell"—namely, the Garrisonians—while Mr. Villard, a grandson of Garrison, expressly excludes him from that class, and says he contemned and despised them. The latter statement belongs to the inferential or guesswork part of his big book, but he was certainly right in saying that Brown was not a Garrisonian.

When two witnesses agree in disparaging a hero and martyr, they ought to get together before testifying in public and agree what specifics of defamation they will swear to; otherwise they contradict each other, as in this case. They agree in calling the Pottawatomie execution a "murder;" it was, in fact, an act of war, and should be called a surprise.

That the condition of things in Kansas from December, 1855, to January, 1859, was a condition of civil war, intermittent, yet persistent, is well known to me and to every person then living who took the trouble to ascertain the facts. Exaggeration prevailed, as in all wars—there were summer campaigns and winter campaigns, and certain districts would be quiet when others were violently disturbed. Now, more than half a century later, partisan exaggeration still continues, to which is added the bias of long-cherished personal hatred and jealousy of reputation. Persons animated by these passions and by long-abiding prejudice have offered and paid money to have their own characters written up or those of their opponents written down. This was the case with several of those persons whom Dr. Abbott

cites as authority. Nobody familiar with facts at the time they occurred as events would believe the testimony of Charles Robinson or G. W. Brown, unsupported by others; and for the good reason that they have told different and conflicting stories about the same events. Mr. Villard cites the testimony of all sorts of persons, good witnesses and bad, swift witnesses and slow, and prints a great deal which is evidence and a great deal which is not. He does not seem capable of drawing sound inferences from his own collection of testimony, and has evidently had little experience in the sifting of testimony. An old Kansas resident (better acquainted with the facts of the war of 1856, and the hundreds of witnesses, living or dead, on both sides, whom he personally knows and has questioned, than any other man known to me, now living) has written me this:

In Mr. Villard's book (I do not pretend to quote its language) it is stated that no difference whatever existed between the actions of the border ruffians and of the Free State people; that both robbed and murdered indiscriminately. But he proceeds to contradict this, when the Pottawatomie affair is in question—intimating that the cause of the Free State people was without a blur till that particular matter. He is clearly refuted by the report of the claims commissioners, to which he loves to refer. It shows a total of Free State losses (approved) of \$335,779.04, and of the losses of pro-slavery people amounting to but \$77,198.99—less than a quarter part. Much of his reference matter quoted proves (if it proves anything) exactly the reverse of what he cites it to prove. The Free State party was composed of people with all shades of political belief, having in common only the anti-slavery principle; when that triumphed, each man reverted to his former proclivities, and bickering and jealousies divided all councils.

The best men in Kansas almost invariably justified Brown's executions at Dutch Henry's, as Brown always justified them for their effect. Nor did he ever deny his responsibility for them. Others denied his presence there, but he admitted it to his son Jason, to Captain Walker, to his neighbor Coleman, and to others.

I have lived many years and have known many men—authors and rhetoricians, as well as men of religion and of affairs—occasionally a hero also. Brown was of that rare class which the world sooner or later acknowledges as heroes; a peer of Leonidas, Joan of Arc, Cromwell, Garibaldi, and Toussaint L'Ouverture. He was recognized as a hero by Victor Hugo, by Garibaldi, by Emerson, Phillips, Parker, Garrison, Thoreau, Higginson, and many others, who knew him and could read with ease the outlines of his simple and grand character. Had he slain twenty times as many as perished under his orders—which I think was less than fifty—he would have none the less been saluted as a hero, as he was by the million men in arms who followed his lead in the abolition of slavery by force. I suppose that Joan of Arc caused the death of more than a thousand before she sacrificed her own life; and she is now canonized as a saint, after being insulted for centuries by

the jeers of authors as great as Shakespeare and Voltaire. What those two could not do for the Maid of Orleans, neither Villard nor Abbott can do for John Brown; and all true friends of theirs must be sorry, as I am, to see them try. I have watched the course of emotions in the ambitious nature of Mr. Garrison's grandson; and as he guesses at motives in other men, whether he knew them or not, I may be allowed the same liberty of guessing at his motives—since I do know him. Being a partisan journalist (not a good training for impartial history), he set out to contradict much of the current belief about Brown. He denied Brown's descent from the Mayflower company, in the face of the family record of the second and third Peter Brown; he represented John Brown as a restless, dissatisfied wanderer from place to place, which was no more and no less true of him than of St. Paul, of King Alfred, of Columbus, of Franklin, and of Brown's friend Dr. Howe, against whom Mr. Villard has a special grudge. He tries the theory that Brown was insane (as Dr. Abbott also does), and cannot quite settle it in his own mind, for the quite obvious reason that he does not know what true insanity is. He guesses at Brown's character in the mass, and, of course, guesses wrong; but, overcome at last by the dignity and romantic heroism of Brown's nature, Mr. Villard throws aside his contradictions, and acclaims him as an inspiring champion of liberty against oppression. May Dr. Abbott do the like!

F. B. SANBORN.

Concord, Massachusetts.

THE SCIENTIFIC WAY IN BUSINESS

In my travels through the Middle West during the past month there has been brought to my attention, in several lines of trade, the contest between the man who knows the cost of doing business and the man who bases his prices on guesswork or slipshod calculations. Many of the concerns which have adopted cost accounting systems during the past few years have been surprised at the serious mistakes they have made in past years, and admit that only the high average margin of profit which formerly prevailed protected them against loss. With the narrowing margin of profit they feel that cost accounting is a necessary insurance against doing business at a loss, in spite of the extra charge which the institution involves. These people point out, too, that their cost accounting systems give them absolute knowledge that many of their competitors are losing money, and must sooner or later be wiped out if they persist in their methods. There is no complaint that there is not sufficient business for these competitors, nor have I found in any case an expression of satisfaction that the competition in question was destroying itself. On the other hand, the complaint is of the demoralization which is caused by the concerns which sell below cost, and in many cases the "man who knows the cost" has made a sincere, public-

spirited, and, to him, expensive effort to show his competitors the folly of their methods. In this connection two characteristic conditions are to be found. The "man who knows the cost" is inevitably with the growing, and in many cases the large, concern.

Some of the small concerns now losing money because of failure to know the cost will be forced into different methods by their own circumstances, but it stands to reason that most of them must go down. It follows that the big man will be richer, stronger, and his position more unassailable by the future little man. And if this condition prevails in nearly every line of trade, as I believe it does, we have the situation of ever-increasing wealth on one hand and increasing poverty on the other. The rich will increase in numbers, and so will the poor.

I meet both the progressive manufacturer and dealer and the ignorant and unprogressive. The progressive manufacturers tell of the conditions which I have outlined among the classes with which they deal, and other traveling men tell me much the same things of their line of trade. I find, and the stories that are told me bear out the assertion, that it is these unfortunate people whose ignorance is the cause of their condition who are complaining of the evils of wealth, who are acquiring a sinister hatred of the rich.

There are, however, some encouraging features in the picture which continually bobs up before me of a feudal America. One of the features is that of greater consideration on the part of the wealthy employer for his employees. Many of the large concerns which, if you so choose to put it, are grinding the little fellows out of existence, have modern factories, profit-sharing with their employees, and other things which lighten the load for the small worker. The heads of the concern, like Julius Rosenwald, of Sears, Roebuck & Co., frequently spend a large portion of their time in philanthropic and other public-spirited work entirely unconnected with their own business. Another inspiring feature is the young blood, frequently the son of the little ignorant proprietor. In many cases this young blood is fighting inch by inch for the adoption of better methods by a father and associates. The improvement in intelligence which the younger generation shows gives you faith in American institutions and in the future of the country itself. The courage and self-sacrifice which this younger element shows in waging a battle when a better position and greater ease might be had form an inspiration too. It gives one the feeling that education is, after all, the way out. But how, pray tell, are you going to educate those who refuse to be educated?

J. N. NIND, JR.

Grand Rapids, Michigan.

BOOKS ON SOCIALISM

Mr. Ernest Hamlin Abbott's article on "Socialism" is a calm, clear, and, for the most part, accurate survey of the subject. The list of books which he gives contains

many of the most important works, but it seems to me that he has included some that are superfluous and omitted others that are important.

For example, Charles Edward Russell's "Why I Am a Socialist" is of very little use in getting an understanding of Socialism. Morris Hillquit's "Socialism in Theory and Practice" is immensely more useful. Similarly, I think it would have been better to omit Spargo's "The Marx He Knew" and Wells's "Socialism and the Family," and in their place put Marx's "Value, Price, and Profit," Marx's "Wage-Labor and Capital" (a five-cent pamphlet), and Thompson's "Constructive Program of Socialism." I think also that Engel's "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific" is far more useful to the average investigator than his "Landmarks of Scientific Socialism." Engel's "Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State" is a most acceptable substitute for, and improvement over, Lafargue's "Evolution of Property."

I offer these suggestions merely to indicate how a Socialist looks at this matter of selecting books on the subject. There are two more books that I should like to have included, but I did not see just what books they could replace. These are W. J. Ghent's "Mass and Class" and Achille Loria's "Economic Foundations of Society." Perhaps they might replace London's "Revolution" and Marx's "Poverty of Philosophy." I regard these two books that I have just suggested as most important for understanding the theory of historical materialism (known also as economic determinism, the economic interpretation of history, and the economic or materialist conception of history). If Mr. Abbott were familiar with these books, he would not have stated this theory quite so crudely as he has done. The fault with his statement—the crudity in it—consists in its incompleteness. He does not mention how the Socialists trace to this source, often through several metamorphoses, all institutions, ideals, religions, and ethics, and how they consider the economic life the basis of ideas. It is evidently for lack of understanding this that he makes the first of his objections to Socialism at the end of the article.

The only other fault to be found with the article is the undue prominence given to the views of Bernstein and the Revisionists. These persons have accomplished one, and only one, thing. They have shown us that economic evolution is at present proceeding less rapidly than the history of the first half of the nineteenth century would have led us to expect. But their other assertions do not hold good. Their influence has really been very small, and what Mr. Abbott calls orthodox Marxism is now, as heretofore, the basic set of ideas in the Socialist movement.

I quite agree with Mr. Abbott that the transition from the present economic system to the next will come through many and various methods, though I cannot agree with

him on what they will be; and I think they will all be symptoms of the rise of the proletariat. I quite agree with him that economic development will not follow the lines of any philosophy. All that a philosophy can do is to tell us what is destined to happen; and if that philosophy explains adequately the past, we can safely rely on its predictions of the future, at least in general outline. And the Socialist philosophy, which does this, is essentially based on science. It rather predicts than denies that the institutions of the future will be established by a cut-and-try process.

As for Mr. Abbott's remark that the lines of demarcation in the class struggle seem to him neither clear nor becoming so, that may be due largely to the difficulty of getting behind the form to grasp the fact. For example, a farmer who owns his land is not thereby presumably a capitalist. He is one in form only, I think. As for his remarks on the question of woman's independence, it would take an article to discuss that matter even superficially. I do not think, however, that his view is anti-Socialist.

Mr. Abbott's last objection speaks for itself and himself.

S. G. RICH,

Librarian Socialist Party, Branch 5, Local N.Y.

[It is natural that the writer of this letter should think that the list of books printed in connection with Mr. Abbott's article was meant to be a bibliography of typical books on Socialism. It was not presented, however, as such. It included simply those books on the subject which within the last few months have come to The Outlook for review.—THE EDITORS.]

PROTECTION FOR PROPERTY

Permit me to call attention again to the fact that the State of Ohio affords no protection for property destroyed by riot. And, as insurance companies cannot be held liable in such cases, it is a clear case of taxpaying without civilized protection.

Owing to the writer's five years' efforts in behalf of himself and the other unfortunate owners of the more than dozen houses burned at Springfield, the Hon. L. H. Lorenz, of Clarke County, has had the sense of justice to introduce a bill in the Legislature for the payment of loss, but, curiously enough, for only one of the houses! Efforts are, of course, being made to have all the houses included that were destroyed in the notorious "Levee" and "Jungles" riots of 1904 and 1906.

It is so very difficult to get just action, if ever, in such cases, that opportunity is here taken to bring forward again the suggestion which the writer has already made in The Outlook: That Congress, or at least the House of Governors, should make inquiry into the attitude of the different States on this question of property loss from riot, with a view to bringing about a uniform responsibility.

CLARKE DOOLEY.

Brooklyn, New York.